A SHORT DEFENCE

OF THE

PRESENT MEN

AND

PRESENT MEASURES,

WITH

OCCASIONAL STRICTURES

ON SOME

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC NOTORIETY.

In a Letter to a Friend in the Country;

Including thoughts on

WAR,	NEGOCIATION,
EXPENCES,	EMIGRATION,
TAXES,	SPAIN,
FRANCE,	INVASION, &c.

UTRUM HORUM, REX AUT GREX, TIBI PLACET?

Which is your Choice---Monarchy or Mobocracy?

BY P. KENNEDY.

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A

SHORT DEFENCE

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PRESENT MEN AND PRESENT MEASURES.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU requeſted at parting, a particular account of the State of Parties and Politics in the Metropolis: I haſten to obey your inſtructions.— As uſual, Pamphlets and Proſe run mad, are daily ſtarting up againſt the Adminiſtration. The late political labours of that great luminary, Mr Edmund Burke, have provoked the tribe of diurnal ſcribes and declaimers to dip the pen in gall; and the democratic prints take more than common pains to blazon the pages of their favourite claſs, by numerous quotations and detailed eulogies.

I know it is difficult to obtain a patient reading at a period over-run with ſcribblers, as Ægypt was with flies and locuſts.—For, as an excellent Author obſerved—that worſt vermin of ſmall authors has given the world ſuch a ſurfeit, that inſtead of deſiring to write, a man would be more inclined to wiſh, for his own eaſe, that he could not read.—But there are ſome things that do ſo provoke indignation, that our reaſon can make no reſiſtance:——and when madmen, in extremes, combine to affix foul imputations on the men in the nation who deſerve the beſt characters, and higheſt public eſtimation, it is impoſſible not to break looſe from determined ſilence, and to expoſe thoſe who would paſs their falſe weights upon us for ſterling quality.

I write not from reſentment to thoſe writers:—I owe them no perſonal ill-will:—I know them not, but by their principles. You may then ſuppoſe my remarks ſincere; and for that reaſon expect to be kindly received. Whether my Obſervations may have power enough to convince, depends upon the reaſons of which you are to judge; and upon a diſpoſition of mind (difficult to be found in the preſent day) to be perſuaded by truth wherever it appears.

In time of danger, when buſy, ſplenetic men are ſpreading abroad their gloomy apprehenſions, and labouring by every art of miſrepreſentation, to prove us reduced in ability and finances, none ſhould refuſe the aid of their pen for the public good. From an imperfect ſketch, ſome more able pen may be induced to enter upon a work better adapted to the importance of the ſubject. There is no one of ſo little conſequence in life, but that he may contribute a ſhare to the advantage of the Society he lives in.——As long as Faction will be ſecretly at work to miſrepreſent and miſlead, ſo long will it be the duty of every well-meaning individual to endeavour to expoſe their views, in order to undeceive the public, and lead them into the ways of truth.

Four or five angry partizans of modern revolutionary doctrines, have brandiſhed their envenomed gooſe-quills againſt THE BURKE. There is in ſome of them much laboured compoſition and falſe brilliancy of diction, to ſwell the farrago of ill-founded abuſe againſt his Majeſty's Miniſters. The tone of invective and ſcurrility merits not the trouble of refutation or ſtricture; but the continuance of political lectures and ſecret aſſociations, among a boiſterous FEW, has ſuch broad ſymptom

toms of diſaffection, that upon the firſt reflection, while our thoughts are warm on the ſubject of our public danger from the foreign enemy, it would almoſt perſuade us, to put them out of the protection of our good-nature, and to think that the charitable indulgence which our compaſſion for other men's foibles cannot eaſily deny, ſeems not only to be forfeited, by the bad appearances that are againſt them, but even becomes a crime when it is ſo miſapplied. It would appear that through every change of time and circumſtances, the miſchievous perverſeneſs of ſome men muſt ſtand in eternal oppoſition to the general good.

It is far from my intention to involve the whole of what are called Oppoſitioniſts, in the guilt of a few; becauſe in every Seſſion, nay in every month of each Seſſion of Parliament, we ſee men recovering from the delirium of party; upon ſecond and cooler thoughts of the public weal, acquieſcing and joining in the meaſures of the Miniſter; and abandoning, with a virtuous tergiverſation, thoſe whoſe fixed reſolution ſeems directed againſt the eſtabliſhed Government. The principle of prudential as well as Chriſtian charity, muſt impel every man to uſe the means of reclaiming ſuch as are not irremediably contumacious. Even ſuch

muſt

muſt be borne with, as far as conſiſts with the public ſecurity. There may be, among political zealots, ſome who, through miſtaken zeal, mean well. In ſuch caſe we muſt exert good nature enough to lament their falſe zeal, as a diſeaſe that has ſeized upon the mind, very troubleſome indeed as well as dangerous by the conſequences it may produce.

The reaſonable paſſion for liberty can no more be reſtrained, than the wild unreaſonable purſuit of it can be entirely ſuppreſſed. They who would take away a rational well-regulated ſyſtem of Liberty from a people poſſeſſed of it, whether by open force, or ſecret machinations of diſcontent, muſt ever fail in the attempt, from the univerſal oppoſition to ſuch an attack upon what men hold moſt dear.

The ſtyle of animadverſion is, I know, generally unwelcome, and cannot eaſily find credit:—But I ſtill ſuppoſe you are not ſo far gone in your revolutionary doctrines, but that you will hear fair demonſtration. I ſhall therefore, without diſcouragement, becauſe I judge you open to conviction, offer to your conſideration two things.

The firſt is—

The cauſe you have to ſuſpect the writers in favour of French Revolution, the Abettors of French Principles, and of the Writers in favour of the Revolution.

The ſecond is—

The duty incumbent upon you, as an Engliſhman, in Chriſtianity and Prudence, not to hazard the public ſecurity, and private domeſtic proſperity—either by a deſire of Innovation in the Government, or by a change of the Adminiſtration.

In treating thoſe important points, I ſhall, of courſe, ſubmit to your candid diſcernment, frequent curſory obſervations on recent publications, which appear meant to agitate a conſiderable portion of the people; and by an artful ſpecies of ſophiſtry, to overthrow the ſalutary effects of the negociations, which his Majeſty's Miniſters have ſo laudably ſought and ſtrenuouſly purſue. My remarks, I truſt, may not be the leſs welcome, coming from a friendly hand—from one, whoſe regards for you are not leſſened by difference of opinion reſpecting certain meaſures: for, as you profeſs, I diſregard men—I look ſolely to meaſures,

ſures, and apportion my eſteem and ſupport to the degree of conſiſtency, integrity, and virtuous firmneſs I diſcover in the Members of his Majeſty's councils: nor will I let my thoughts at an arduous criſis of threatened *Invaſion*, be ſo confined to this or that body of men, as to impede that charity, good will, and uniſon of ſentiment and action, which are, at this time, more than all other arguments, become eſſential to preſerve us from danger.

To you who know me, I need not repeat that I am a friend to liberty—that I am a friend to temperate reform;—becauſe you have often heard me rejoice at the diſpoſition evinced by Miniſters, to proceed, in due ſeaſon, in a prudential line of reformation—to amend where abuſes had crept in; but not with the hurry or precipitation which the intemperate *levellers* of the *time* would have urged and forced upon them.

I am neither ſurpriſed or provoked to ſee that, in the condition the partizans of Oppoſition are reduced to—in the low circumſtances of popular notice and ſupport into which they are fallen, they ſhould be deſirous that the Eructations of the Scribes be, at this period, largely vomited out againſt the preſent Miniſters and meaſures. Men

who are ſore from the laſh of merited reprehenſion; and who have called up the pen of THE BURKE, to put them down with ignominy, will run to the neareſt apparent remedy with too much haſte to conſider all the conſequences: Grains of allowance are to be made for abuſive pages, and periods fraught with acrimony in lieu of argument; becauſe diſappointment and deſpair work great influence on the paſſions. Certain Chiefs of party, ſtill ſmarting under the ſufferings they provoked, will hardly take time from the keenneſs of anguiſh, to examine with calmneſs or reaſonable prudence: and no arguments, however forcible, nay where even the public ſafety is at ſtake, can gain a fair audience from the mind, till the ſmart is ſomewhat allayed.

What a depth of fanciful paradox is that with which the writer of *Utrum Horum* ſets out? Mounted on the favourite *hobby* of Oppoſition, he roundly aſſerts—*The duration of the War is ruin, Peace alone can ſave us.*

This writer, however, is met in his outſet by truth: His Majeſty's Miniſters have opened the avenue to Negociation, and are eager to embrace

Peace

Peace, if attainable, on ſolid, permanent, and honourable terms. Here then, the writer, finding his retreat cut off, courageouſly faces about, and, in a pang of deſperation, aſſerts, as the Ne plus ultra of party, that, *the beſt peace which can be rationally expected from the preſent Miniſtry, would be a greater calamity, than even a continuance of the War.*—What inconſiſtency will men fly to in a paroxyſm of deſperation?—Riſum teneatis! Add but a ſhort line, and I will admit the laſt propoſition as poſitive truth—it will then run thus, and ſorely is it felt—*The beſt Peace which can be rationally expected from the preſent Miniſtry, would be a greater calamity* TO US OF THE OPPOSITION, *than even a continuance of the War.* Here would be a propoſition in ſtrict truth and feeling: here indeed we read the expreſſion of the heart.

The true intent and meaning of this paradoxical flouriſh is, that, "if Peace ſhould take place, the *outs* and *out-expectants* are undone for ever." The Miniſter, who, "in the piping times of peace," made the Britiſh Commerce and the Britiſh name flouriſh to a degree of proſperity unprecedented in the annals of the world,—if he ſhould bring the War to a concluſion—why then—oh then!

Vale, longum Vale!—

Farewell, a long farewell to all our expected greatneſs!

This is the plain Engliſh of this bloated phraſeology; and to comment further on ſuch a palpable contradiſtinction of terms, would be an inſult to the moſt common underſtanding.

There are among the diurnal and other writers, many of great merit, abilities, and induſtry: but we may ſuppoſe there are ſome, who, having fallen under temptation of future benefit, are in ſome degree engaged to continue the ungracious tenour of their way; and, at all riſks, to daſh through thick and thin at Miniſters, by the awe they are in of being otherwiſe diſfavoured. The labours, the perſuaſions, (we will not talk of correct argument) of ſuch men muſt ſure have the leſs force; as ſophiſtry, however ſpecious, is to be ſuſpected, coming from thoſe who have mortgaged themſelves to ſevere creditors, that expect a rigorous obſervance of the contract, let it be ever ſo humiliating.

If there ſhould be any who by the load of obloquy againſt government, labouring by minute fineſſe and diſtinction, to ſeparate the *Country* from the *Government*, have been bowed down implicitly to comply with the orders of party;—If there ſhould be any who, by the weight of political guilt, have drawn upon themſelves the neceſſity of an entire reſignation of their talents and their will: ſuch men, let them write ever ſo ably or voluminouſly, are to be lamented, but not to be believed.

believed. Nay, as there is a monitor that will ſpeak in the hour of ſober reflection, they themſelves, when they have diſcharged the unwelcome taſk, muſt be inwardly glad that their forced endeavours ſhould fail of influence and effect upon the people; they muſt be pleaſed when a diſcerning public reſiſts and ſpurns inſinuations and doctrines, which are often far from voluntary, but are ſqueezed out of them by the weight of obligation or expectancy.

Men plainly under engagements to one ſide, muſt expect their arguments, their attacks on the other, to be received accordingly;—their fair pretences at free diſcuſſion are to be eſtimated as part of their engagement, which allows them a latitude and diſpenſation to deviate from ſtrict truth, when it may bring a prejudice or obſtruction upon the ſervice and plans of thoſe by whom they are employed: If ſuch ſhould appear to be the inſtruments of the party, I leave you, my friend, to judge whether their labours do not afford much matter of ſuſpicion and doubt againſt them. No ſharpneſs is to be mingled, where healing only is intended.—In expoſing particular men of Adminiſtration, however ſtrong the temptation and proſpect to the libellers, the public muſt judge of the proofs on which the denunciation is built.

It would be unworthy the ſerioufneſs of argument to dwell upon the numerous pages of invective heaped upon invective, againſt individual Mr. PITT.—He has been Miniſter for a ſeries of years, with the approbation, the admiration of all true Britons, and of ſurrounding nations:—He is likely, by his abilities, unſullied integrity, and comprehenſive diſcernment of the true intereſt of King and People, to continue Prime Miniſter for years to come; and, I truſt, for the happineſs of the Empire.—Here is the rub—there the galled jade winces—'tis for this that the Scribes are employed in preaching anger, vengeance, *a grand act of juſtice*, and other ſuch farrago.—But may it not, without injuſtice, be ſuſpected that ſo much of unqualified reprehenſion, ſo plainly out of ſeaſon, ſprings rather from diſappointment than miſtake; and that thoſe who act this choleric part, do not believe themſelves; but only purſue higher directions, and endeavour to make good that part of their contract which obliges them, under forfeiture, to make uſe of their inflaming gooſe-quill, and level the whole artillery of calumnious inſinuations on the component Members of his Majeſty's Councils? They might apprehend their wages or expectancies would be retrenched, if they were more moderate; and, therefore, while violence

violence is their intereſt, thoſe who have not the ſame arguments, have no reaſon to follow ſuch partial example.

It is not my intention to follow thoſe writers through all their ſonorous emptineſs: 'Tis difficult to follow where method, argument, and illuſtration are ſought for in vain; where all is in the uſual cant of voluble invective; and where the intemperate ſallies of an impetuous zeal expoſe the cloven foot in every page, by plainly avowing that it is not the calm and diſpaſſionate contemplation of the general ſituation of the empire, that engages their attention.—The concern, the labours, the declamation, the lectures, are all aimed at "the overthrow of the preſent Adminiſtration."

HIC LABOR—HOC OPUS EST.

Periſh the government—periſh domeſtic comforts and proſperity—come Invaſion and riſk of utmoſt horrors—provided the Oppoſition can get into power, and carry with them the hoſt of the Thelwalls, &c. to ſaddle upon the nation.

It muſt be confeſt, that the partizans of faction, in an arbitrary and ſtrange manner labour to ſink the character of Britons to their ſhallow conceptions and humours: Without the leaſt ſhadow of authority

authority from reaſon or facts, they aim to fetter the underſtanding of the people of England, to withhold the freedom of fair obſervation and reflection on the circumſtances of the moment; and the conſequent, imperious, happy change in our relative political ſituation.

While the repreſentative body, yet warm as it were, from the inſtructions and free votes of their Conſtituents, are expreſſing their acknowledgments, the ſincerity of their feelings for his Majeſty's paternal attention to the welfare of his ſubjects, in opening the way to a general pacification, the retainers to a dwindled party, arrogate to themſelves the office of public declaimers,

In triviis clamantes—peſtem patriæ nefariè molientes.

CICERO DE CATALINA.

and pretend to reduce the good ſenſe, the honeſt opinions of Engliſhmen, to a ſervile dependence on their whims, and capricious invectives upon his Majeſty's government. Men accuſtomed to an unlimited abuſe of "thoſe who have the rule over us," make no ſcruple of pronouncing peremptorily upon matters they but ſlightly examine. Whoever ſeriouſly reflects on the inſinuations levelled at the Houſe of Parliament in the paroxyſm of intemperance and temerity, which fills many pages of the late heterogeneous compilations, muſt be fully convinced that ſuch overbearing attacks

on

on the Repreſentative integrity of the country ſhews the honour and juſtice of the faction in a very unfavourable light, and plainly demonſtrates that the *political mania* of *innovation*, the *contagion* of French doctrines, and preſent deſpair to their views, have *eaten them up.*

Permit me here to pauſe, and to offer a caution of the greateſt importance to ſome men. If they ſedately conſider the dangers of vilifying the grand council of the nation, they will find reaſon to lay the *cenſorial rod* ſmartly on themſelves; and reflect that the beſt atonement they can make, the ſafeſt courſe they can take, and leaſt expoſed to hazard of the grievous calamities which follow the French diſeaſe, will be to live as ſubjects born under legal government.—If men ſpeak, act, and write in contempt of law and government, why ſhould the governors protect them who will not pay due honour to the laws, which are in a higher ſenſe, the ſovereign over both. The deliberations and declared ſenſe of the auguſt Houſe of Parliament ought to be ever held ſacred; and not made the ſport of ludicrous cenſure or party malevolence. The Poet's obſervation is here forcible and appoſite——

Eſt modus in rebus, ſunt certi denique fines.

The celebrated Mr. Care, a ſtrenuous advocate for Britiſh liberties, had the higheſt veneration for the

the deciſions of Parliament, and looked up with awe to that great organ of public ſentiment, that ſovereign palladium of our Conſtitution. What then would be the indignation and ſurprize of that able lawyer at this day, to read over the groſs, high-flying rhapſody of invective and ridicule, largely dealt out againſt a Britiſh Houſe of Commons? he would certainly look about him, "aſtoniſhed and aghaſt," at the audacity of the cenſure. I will not dwell longer on this unpleaſant ground, but conclude, with this remark, that as Parliament is the greateſt ſtrength of the nation, ſo, notwithſtanding the blemiſhes which give ſuch matter of objection to party, I believe that in Parliament reſts an omnipotence to be exerciſed on great occaſions. The virtual conſent of the whole being included in their Repreſentatives, and the King giving his ſanction to the united ſenſe of the people, every act done by ſuch authority, is an effect of their choice, and becomes an immediate part of their duty.

This picture ſhould incite us to acknowledge the happineſs of our own government, under which we enjoy all the privileges reaſonable men can deſire, and avoid all the miſeries many others are ſubject to: I will add, that inſtead of reviling, we ought to cling to the Houſe of Parliament, with its ſuppoſed imperfections, rather than preach up a

Mobocracy,

Mobocracy, that fattens upon human ſlaughter, and devaſtation.

I will not here animadvert on the prophetic bodings, or the ill-omened inferences upon which a writer builds his dreadful maxim of *delenda eſt Carthago*.—I ſee no reaſon why on the event of peace, " a benevolent policy" may not take place " in both countries to ſmooth and harmonize their mutual intereſts." Why ſhould the helliſh policy be *conjured up* of planting an incurable hatred between the two nations? Why may we not anticipate the wiſdom of the preſent Adminiſtration, engaged in eradicating the ſeeds and ſources of all national antipathy; opening bright proſpects of commercial intercourſe and reciprocal friendſhip, and mutually eſtabliſhing and adhering to the generous maxim of permanent tranquillity and national happineſs? Why may we not, agreeable to the ſuggeſtions of religion and humanity, indulge the happy belief that the reſtoration of peace will be a preſage of long bleſſings to both countries, and that all enmities and animoſities may ceaſe for evermore.

I forbear to comment at large on the diſcloſure of the confidential communications between certain elevated perſonages, with which a writer was honoured.—Whether any circumſtance of political difference can warrant ſuch a deviation from

the line of political truſt, I leave thoſe concerned to judge.——Egotiſm may feel gratified in diſplaying a conſequence at the expence of propriety, and detail in pompous exhibition the means and duration of the

INTERVIEW.

But the noble and reſpectable perſons concerned cannot be much pleaſed to ſee a private, confidential tranſaction thus incautiouſly dragged before the public.

I will add another obſervation on this head.—Stateſmen have a right to expect the higheſt diſcretion from thoſe they employ; and I muſt think if the reſpectable perſonages ſo freely mentioned, had not placed ſufficient confidence in the ſagacity and ſecrecy of the Egotiſt, they would not have converſed ſo freely before him on the ſeveral points of high importance, at " an Interview, which laſted from ten o'clock at night until three in the morning, and afforded a remarkable diſplay of the extraordinary talents of the parties.

It is too true, that when a man under the habitual influence of party is obliged occaſionally to mingle in political diſquiſition, he is perpetually in danger of being miſled by his own enthuſiaſm. What we call good ſenſe, in general life, conſiſts chiefly

chiefly in that temper of mind which enablesits poſſeſſor to view, at all times, with perfect coolneſs and accuracy, all the various circumſtances that crowd around him; ſo that each of them may produce its due impreſſion, with but little exaggeration ariſing from his own peculiar habits.—Political circumſtances are to be regulated, not by prolific fancy, but by ſober reflection: otherwiſe our conduct and our writings will have far leſs reference to the real ſituation of things, than to ſome imaginary ſcenes, dreſſed with all the various colourings, and exertions of poetical fancy, or glowing with impaſſioned reſearches of modern philoſophy. In conſequence, while we appear to ourſelves to be acting with the moſt perfect wiſdom and conſiſtency, and diſplaying our abilities in all the decorations of *pathos* and diction, we frequently exhibit to the public all the appearance of indiſcretion.

At the memorable confidential *Interview*, where we are told extraordinary diligence and active earneſtneſs were employed to bring the parties together, it muſt be confeſſed that in the endeavour to reclaim what was there ſtiled the *egarement* of Mr. *Burke*, there was a great deal to forgive—a hard taſk enough for the charity of party ſo provoked.—But the conſiſtent dignity of Mr. Burke, the ſolidity and ſtrength of a mental conviction of

rectitude and propriety, cut off all hope of being reconciled. As there was much of anger left, for the discussion of other days—on the part of Mr. Burke it only broke out into a christian revenge, by throwing shame and confusion of face upon his opponent, while he painted with glowing pencil and pathetic zeal, those *revolutionary* horrors, which mankind have since deplored.

Mr. Burke at the celebrated *Interview*, shewed a stomach to resist the rigorous dictates of party, the hard imposition of yielding to a false point of honour: he wrestled with friendship and prevailed; nor was he ashamed of his separation from those he once revered, where justice and sound judgment pointed out his line of conduct.

For this honourable, conscientious tergiversation, Mr. Burke is favoured with numerous detached complimentary pages, by the host of party-scribes—'tis a climax of compliment: if the most enthusiastic rancour can be so denominated: Mr. Burke, the saviour of our constitutional establishments, the champion of assailed, outraged christianity!

" Let me not live but at the very name
The eager heart springs up and leaps for joy:
When we forget the vast, vast debt, we owe thee:
Forget!—but 'tis impossible—then let BRITONS
Forget the use and privilege of reason," &c.

But

But Mr. Burke ſtands not in need of any panegyric from my humble pen: To the calm retirement, in which he has choſen to paſs the evening of life, the admiration of all good men, the applauſe of his Sovereign, and the dignity of conſcious virtue, follow that great and good man.

Diſdaining the fetters of party, diſdaining the ill-natured maxims of eternal oppoſition—and the belief that thoſe who may find themſelves in the wrong, cannot embrace the right, without breach of contract, Mr. Burke, with able and intrepid pen, recalled a deluded world from the falſe proſpect of gallic Revolution. He ſo fully laid open the inward ſprings and blood-ſtained wheels, whereby the revolutionary engine moved, that it was not ſuppoſable a ſimilar experiment ſhould be attempted among us. The effect his writings had at the time, the ſpirit and unanimity they raiſed in the breaſts of all true Engliſhmen, will not eaſily be forgotten—and it is to be preſumed the remembrance of thoſe happy circumſtances, will enſure reſpect and immortality to the writer, while they ſecure us from any revolutionary attempts, and from the perils of innovation.

But why ſhould Adminiſtration have "rejoiced at ſuch an ally againſt the French Revolution;" Why ſhould they "ſurvey him with a lover's fondneſs, &c.?" Theſe very aſperities of obſervation,

tion on the incidents of that memorable period, are the moſt pointed and impreſſive eulogy on the Adminiſtration of that day. Though ſtrong in the confidence and ſupport of the nation, yet they were not influenced by ill natured maxims of low ſuſpicion—or by a belief that he who had long oppoſed, could not cordially unite with them—they diſplayed a noble, a voluntary, endearing diſpoſition to receive with joy the friend of humanity—the advocate of church and ſtate—the palladium of religious eſtabliſhments, and the ſcourge of Mobocratic violences.

Happily, from this well-timed indulgence and reception of Mr. Burke much good has ariſen: The adverſary who values himſelf upon his reſiſtance while he is oppoſed, yields inſenſibly to gentle means, and naturally melts into conformity of ſentiment, by methods of lenient perſuaſion and remonſtrance.

Purſuant to the freedom of epiſtolary communication, as I pen my thoughts juſt as they occur, without tying myſelf down to ſtrict order or method, I truſt you will find in the aggregate of the foregoing obſervations ſufficient *cauſe to ſuſpect the writers in favour of French Revolution, the abbettors of French principles, and of the writers in favour of the Revolution.*

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I now proceed to the ſecond point of conſideration, which I mentioned, viz.

The duty incumbent on you, as an Engliſhman, in chriſtianity and prudence, not to hazard the public ſecurity and private domeſtic proſperity, either by a deſire of innovation in the Government, or by a change of the Adminiſtration.

It is a poſitive duty of loyal and intelligent men to try to ſuppreſs, by expoſing the growth of cabal and detraction: for if once they are ſuffered to ſhoot up into credit with the multitude, they deſtroy the good ſeed which would otherwiſe produce public proſperity, happineſs and tranquillity; the ſecret whiſpers of diſaffection, the long-laboured periods of envenomed gooſe-quills tempt too many to deal in the ſame commodity, and the little *tittle-tattle* of buſy declaimers againſt Government, too often obſcures private ſociety, which ought to be enlightened by loyalty and truth.

Is it not a ſpecies of inſanity, when men will not look to the conſequences of party-malevolence; but ſeem to think it lawful and proper to make the King and the Conſtitution their ſport by the groſſeſt fallacies and impoſitions upon vulgar credulity?

The frothy publication from Mr. Thelwall, as is ſaid, has been given away in great detail, among the

the lower orders.—At Sheffield, at Norwich, at Yarmouth, &c. his pamphlet, if report be true, has been handed into every conſiderable workſhop and manufactory, to enlighten the ignorant multitude, as he terms it.

To the long winded harangues, to the democratic pages of this hallowed citizen, I ſhall reply by the *retort retroſpective.*

I will aſk this prince of declamatory Itinerants—Was it not a moſt ſerious and affecting period for the country and the Conſtitution, when, without reflection, without looking to laws or conſequences, hot brained Empirics, by their new fangled ſyſtems of public aſſociation, ſought to exchange our proſperous and peaceable form of Government, for the convulſions and anarchy which ever follow the overthrow of good order.*—Yes: men appeared in our public ways, poiſoning the public mind with the impious doctrine, that while

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* It was about this time, that Mr. Reeves, who alſo ſhares a page or two of abuſe both from the *moderate* and the *extreme reformers*, ſtept forward with laudable zeal and virtuous exertion, to oppoſe a phalanx of honeſt and loyal men to the new fangled ſocieties: 'Twas in that Gentleman a crime indelible, never to be forgiven—to have formed an aſſociation of peaceable independent citizens, for the defence of the King and Conſtitution, and in oppoſition to the dangerous ſyſtems of modern agitators.

Hinc illæ Lachrymæ!

while foreign nations were advancing into reformation, it was criminal to ſit at eaſe: that the people ought not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſhackled by any reſtraints, or by the irkſome ſituation of being bound to any old ſyſtem of government.—Such were the alarming declarations that, for ſome time, gave a vital ſtab to public credit, palſied our manufactures, and expoſed many to the juſt ſeverity of offended laws, while the great movers and ring-leaders of faction evaded, and ſtill evade, puniſhment; and ſcreen themſelves by the art and ſubtlety of *acquitted felons* from the rigour of juſtice.

One cannot help dropping a tear over the depravity of human nature, on a retroſpect of the democratic rage of the *Chalk Farm*, and other meetings; where a few political enthuſiaſts exulted in the credulity of the populace, and in the proſpect of commotion and deſolation throughout the country.

Our modern State-Reformiſts ſtarted at once from the path which our anceſters trod, and which the moderate part of mankind are contented and hold it prudent to follow.—With inflated arrogance they ceaſe not to magnify, even to this hour, their own declamatory talents, and to ſpeak contemptuouſly of the exiſting Government—and perhaps had their preſumption been leſs extrava-

gant, their plans leſs open and undiſguiſed, the danger would have been greater to the public weal.—Luckily their vanity out-ran their diſcretion.

Another ſet of political quacks, more chaſte in their manner, not leſs furious in intention, through all the effuſions of violence, profeſs not to mean any thing like injury to the Conſtitution—they boaſt their attachment to monarchical government in all the ſplendour of diſcuſſion.—Theſe Reformers, "lean hungry-looking mortals, whoſe very faces," as Shakeſpeare deſcribes, "indicate plots againſt the ſtate," fill up their ſplenetic hours with long recitals of grievances. But can they be thought to entertain any great partiality for the Conſtitution, who bluſh not to approve the gallic Reformers, in their enormities and threats againſt all eſtabliſhments? Surely our modern ſpeculatiſts do not advert to the ſtrange contradictions they utter? If, as they profeſs, they believe our Conſtitution to poſſeſs great and brilliant advantages, muſt it not follow, of neceſſity, that they cannot think well of what runs in direct violation of its beſt principles? If the Conſtitution poſſeſſes thoſe excellencies, which the world has long admired, every man is bound to oppoſe all maxims and doctrines inconſiſtent with its preſervation in its preſent ſtate; and to cultivate, by every means

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in his power, and ſupport that ſyſtem of laws which gives energy, vigour, liberty, and happineſs to the people.

Faction, like a peſtilence, may be traced by the havock which it makes.—Every rank, every ſtation in life, is injured by this plague of ſociety: It embitters domeſtic ſcenes, ſows the ſeeds of enmity amongſt inhabitants of the ſame vicinage, and, in the event, plunges whole nations into diſorder.

There is no greater engine of diſſenſion than the affixing upon others, names of contumely and reproach: the reaſon is plain, with reſpect to the multitude—at a public meeting, or ſeditious lecture, they conceive not the meaning of a ſyllogiſm or laboured argument, but they can pronounce and retain opprobious words. While the lecturer is throwing his dull malice at the heads of thoſe he does not like, he forgets that what he ſpouts in malevolence, may grow up into blood;—and the ſame language, which, at firſt, made the company merry, may grow in time to be a military ſignal to cut one another's throats.

Such are the horrors into which our madmen in politics would fain precipitate us: They would riſk the bleſſings we enjoy, the progreſſive proſperity of the nation, for fooliſh impracticable ſyſtems, in which they are not themſelves fully agreed:

For (I ſpeak from knowledge, confirmed by auricular demonſtration) there are among the political factors of the day, as many fanciful plans of Reform, as there have been meetings, or ſocieties for three years back. *

It may be remarked that the political delirium of ſome men increaſes with the multitude of airy ſpeculations, that croud the imagination. But happily while thoſe leaders of a populace ſaid in their hearts, " my mountain is ſtrong, and I ſhall not be moved" from the ſchemes I have formed; by the variety of viſionary extravagance, inſtead of ſtrengthening, they were weakening, what alone could ſupport them, public opinion. While they were launching with intemperate eagerneſs, into hazardous ſyſtems, the public mind revolted againſt the precipitancy and daring of ſuch enthuſiaſts; all men of good ſenſe and reflexion clearly ſaw that *grievances* and *reform* were mere words of pretence with

* This diſcord or diſunion of ſentiment between the ſeveral claſſes of *reformers* is hinted at by Mr. Thelwall in deep deploring ſtrains of regret—He ſeems to adhere to that claſs of *extreme reformers*, as one of the party-writers denominates them, who aim to build their own advancement on the blind zeal and impetuous fury of the unbridled mob; who would, like Milton's demon, " high o'erleaping, overleap all bounds," and rouſe the whirlwind, in the looſe hope of riding upon the ſtorm.

with the maniacs of the day, covering deep deſigns againſt the exiſting Government.

Who can place confidence in thoſe that are known to revile the exiſting Government? Is not the card they play a deſperate one? Such men cannot be under any ties of fidelity, as all morality is founded in ſubordination.

The Reform-hunters of the times are like the profane ſcoffers of religion: they pretend to decide, *en maitre*, reſpecting matters which are far beyond their narrow comprehenſion—they declaim and publiſh, as if no other power ſhould exiſt but that which is framed from their diſtempered brains. They are like vain glorious boaſters who vaunt their courage, yet tremble when danger is at hand—they pretend to think of the doctrines of innovation and equality, with *ſang froid*, while every heart muſt tremble with horror, becauſe aſſured of the indiſcriminate barbarities of an unbridled mobility.

If individuals of ſober induſtry in the ſeveral callings of humble life, would employ a moment's reflexion, they would always detect the poiſon which the diſcontented are ſecretly preparing for their minds—they would diſcover a proud conſequence, ſelf-intereſt, or vengeful ſpirit of party, under the aſſumed garb of public ſpirit, under a ſpecious ſhew of *love for liberty*. Let us examine this queſtion diſpaſſionately. What has this love

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of liberty hitherto been among the French? What has it been but decrees of domination, a desire of conquest, a thirst of blood, by extending their views to the governments of other countries, and desolating surrounding States? What has it been but a pernicious principle, propagating in every country a contempt of law, and seducing men by the glowing and specious colourings of *Reform*, into combinations and associations against established systems, in favour of hazardous extremes leading to plunder and massacre?

This is the principle that has been so much cried up by our own political reformers, as a virtue of the first rank; because as I remarked before, it corresponds with their plans of building their own advancement on the subversion of all order and subordination.

Again, can the boasted Republicanism of France be as yet considered, however great it has appeared in some of its exertions, as any thing better than a principle holding together bands of murderous robbers, in their attempts to overwhelm their unoffending neighbours, and plundering indiscriminately friends and foes? This is no exaggerated colouring; it is strong, undeniable fact; and brings with it a reflection of most serious concern to every thinking man in this nation.

While at a distance from the dreadful scenes of action,

action, we feel but little for the revolutions of human affairs: we read barely with paſſing concern, or momentary anxiety, the melancholy fate of thouſands, baniſhed from their dwellings, and deprived of their daily ſupport by the *Invaſion of War:* while exempted by the goodneſs of Providence from immediate diſtreſs and ruin, we may, indeed, drop a tear over the recital of ſuch ravages and deſolation: yet 'tis only the tribute of a moment, which ſurrounding comforts ſoon diſſipate. But if the voice of humanity will ſometimes be heard; if the tear of commiſeration will flow, even amidſt our enjoyments, for the calamities of others,—how terrible, how affecting, how overwhelming would be our ſorrows, if brought into an experience of ſimilar diſaſters? if viſited by the accomitants of French principles—anarchy, conflagration and maſſacre? If inſtead of riſing on the morrow from the comfortable bed of famliy repoſe, we were rouſed from our peaceful ſlumbers, like ſo many unhappy thouſands in the various provinces of Germany, for years paſt, with the ſword of the aſſaſſin at our throats; turned out of our quiet dwellings, without any covering but the ſky, to make room for the ſoldiers of equality and murder?

This is a forcible leſſon for the preſent moment —the proper impreſſion of it ſhould be to delibe-

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rate with a tender concern, how to check the evil diſpoſition, and avert the miſchief of diſcontent at home. Let us compare our own domeſtic comforts with the broken ſpirit of the diſtreſſed, the loſſes of the unhappy people, whom hoſtile armies alternately pillage and deſolate.

The narrative of atrocious tranſactions by the French, which are proved beyond contradiction, muſt offer an inſtructive monitory leſſon to all who can be content with the bleſſings of regular government; tend to deter the high-flying reformiſt from his affiliated purſuit, and prevent incautious youth from ruſhing into ſcenes of turbulence, or becoming the dupes of hackneyed enthuſiaſts.—Surely the peruſal of ſuch enormities muſt ſuffice to anſwer the deſirable purpoſe of producing ſubordination and order in every claſs of the people; as by them French Fraternity is ſtripped of thoſe deceitful colours, in which it has been too ſucceſsfully repreſented by the agitators of ſedition. Their boaſted liberty has been a ſeverer ſcourge to thoſe who have been ſeduced by its falſe appearances, than the deſtructive rage of peſtilence or open war.

Need I enumerate the enormities perpetrated in the late deſolating progreſs of Jourdan and Moreau's armies? There are letters in town of undoubted veracity, which offer impreſſive evidences

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of the barbarities exerciſed by their troops. The towns which they entered on ſolemn terms of capitulation and ſecurity, manifeſt their violation of all engagements. Tho' the Generals had given to the Magiſtracy aſſurances in writing, that after paying their contributions, they would have no further exactions to fear,—yet after furniſhing their quota, with many extraordinaries, much above their abilities, they were after all expoſed to private pillage of the ſoldiery, and ſubjected without redreſs, to ſhocking acts of cruelty. Nothing eſcaped the greedineſs of a lawleſs ſoldiery. The moſt reſpectable burghers were threatened, inſulted, and in ſome inſtances whipped by armed ruffians, becauſe they would not, perhaps could not, give them money in their nocturnal, predatory rounds. Nor did the inclination of the people to French principles in ſome places, prevent numerous acts of violence and robbery from being committed: the moſt forward in putting on Republican badges were treated with as little attention or ceremony as the moſt decided friends of their Prince—for plunder, not principle, was the ruling object. If we look to ſome conſiderable

* For three years back the different Generals have ſeverally complained, but in vain, of the terrible exceſſes of the French ſoldiery: the habits of plunder increaſed daily; and cruelties

towns, we can trace in the late progreſs of the French, as at all former periods, ſuch havocks as will ſcarce be credited by civilized nations*. The churches and convents—ſacred places, which the moſt ſavage nations would have reſpected, were pillaged, robbed of their ornaments, and then wantonly profaned by ſcenes of violence, by debauchery, and by heaps of filth. The houſes, the ſhops of the honeſt trader, and frugal merchant, fared not better—warehouſes were ranſacked, and every thing portable carried away—whole villages were plundered,—the cattle driven away,—every houſe and barn emptied, gutted, and then, in the wantonneſs of intemperance, ſet fire to. In ſhort, they beat and abuſed the farmers and villagers, in the moſt cruel manner, who dared to oppoſe their pillage, or remonſtrate on their breach of faith; and often diſhonoured the women in the preſence of their parents and huſbands; adding inſult to miſery, and ſmiling amidſt the cries of diſtreſs,—amid the ruin they had made.

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cruelties ſhocking to humanity were perpetrated with impunity: The late overthrow and deſtruction of the Sambre and Meuſe army may be attributed, in a degree, to their unlimited atrocities and oppreſſion of the German peaſantry. And on General Bournonville's repreſentation of the licentiouſneſs and inſubordination of the remains of that army, the Directory called upon the Council of Five Hundred to enact laws to repreſs the mal-practices and exceſſes of the Soldiery.

Theſe are authentic facts: this is a part of the comforts of *civil war* and *hoſtile invaſion*; this is a faint ſketch of the numerous ſcenes of inhumanity, horror, and bloodſhed, into which our goodly aſſociators would fain precipitate our proſperous and happy country.

Is it neceſſary to add any further conſiderations to prove to Engliſhmen "the duty incumbent on them, in Chriſtianity and prudence, not to hazard the public ſecurity, and private domeſtic proſperity, by a deſire of Innovation in the Government."—I hope I have offered convincing proofs of the comparative bleſſings we enjoy under our preſent Conſtitution and King. I ſhall now offer a few remarks to demonſtrate that "we ſhould not hazard the public ſecurity and private domeſtic proſperity, by a change of the Adminiſtration."

When men openly avow hoſtility againſt the exiſting Government, and encourage a fraternity of diſpoſition among the vulgar; when for the purpoſe of intimidation, the Reformers of the day ſcruple not to boaſt the extent of confederation, and ſpread themſelves throughout the Kingdom to make converts to ſedition, it becomes high time to annihilate ſuch proceedings by the ſtrong arm of the law. On this ground I ſhall examine the conduct of his Majeſty's Miniſters, at the late great criſis of Gallic ſpeculation and Gallic models, when

both the landed intereſt and commercial world trembled for their tenures, and all the bonds of ſociety were on the eve of being burſt aſunder.

Adminiſtration at that period, buſied in conſiderations highly intereſting to the general weal, ſaw with regret, not without apprehenſion, parties of men leagued by paſſion and abſurdity, like raſh inexperienced workmen, aiming with all the rage of modern levellers, to overturn a venerable edifice of antiquity; or, at leaſt, eager to change the face of the building by ſpecious imbelliſhments and fantaſtic novelties. Reſolved to watch in order to avert every dangerous innovation, Miniſters were not averſe to declare their readineſs in due ſeaſon, to cheriſh and adopt any ſolid and well-weighed improvement: but gentleneſs and forbearance ſeemed only to ſwell the arrogance of aſſociated agitators—*National delegation* was to be erected againſt the *Legislative Authority* of the *State*.

Miniſters were then juſtly rouſed; the law, with undaunted arm and irreſiſtible might, ſeized a few of the reſtleſs ſpirits, and dragged them to puniſhment. The vigilance and energy of Adminiſtration was ſo immediate, that it terrified the active ſet of *reforming declamators* from their uſual employment: the clubs of ſedition became palſied in their operations, and their laſt eructations were like

like ſtink-pots, only remarkable for their peſtiferous odours.

Men will ever be impatient of reprehenſion, becauſe it ſets before them what they wiſh not to ſee, and attacks ſelf-love in the deareſt and moſt ſenſible part, where it never gives way without great reluctance. We love ourſelves as we are, and would have reaſon for doing ſo. Thus we are careful to juſtify ourſelves in our faults by various deceitful colours. It muſt not then ſeem ſtrange that the men I depict, ſhould be diſpleaſed with being contradicted and condemned; as it is an attack at the ſame time, upon the reaſon which is deceived, the heart which is corrupted, and the evils which flow from ſuch a mixture of weakneſs and depravity.

The political zealot, hurried away by his own view of things, is generally deceived both in his ſenſes and his judgement; he ever fancies himſelf to be in the right, and thoſe of the oppoſite party to be in the wrong: 'tis thus a country often becomes divided in itſelf, and "finds its worſt foes to be thoſe of its own houſehold."

Party-ſpirit generally proceeds from a gloomy reſtleſs imagination; it is a *furor* of mind which hurries us into a belief, that we are capable of regulating the whole machine of State, while we are, perhaps, ſuffering our own affairs to tumble into

into ruin----We form *aſſociations*, to *reform Government*, and harangue the mobility ever prone to liſten to ſpecious declaimers, without conſidering what ample ſcope there may be for each and every of us, to diſplay our talents for *reformation* in our own conduct and concerns. We boaſt of devoting our time in providing for the liberties of others, by long recitals of ſuppoſed grievances, while perhaps by a retrogade movement, our own family affairs are reduced to ſuch a ſtate of derangement, as to endanger our perſonal liberty.

How ſolemn and impreſſive are the words of the wiſe man in the ſacred writings; " The beginning of diſcord is as when one letteth out water"—Water, if the ſmalleſt opening be made in the mound which confines it, will ſoon force for itſelf a wider paſſage: When once the torrent is ſet at liberty, it diſdains reſtraint, and carries down with it even the impediments that are thrown in to retard its progreſs, or check its fury.

The experience of a neighbouring kingdom furniſhes ample and diſtreſſing teſtimonies of the truth of the ſimile—nay the ſtreets of our metropolis, the chief towns of the kingdom preſent to us daily the ſad, but reſigned victims, to an atrocious policy—to a ſucceſſion of factions—to a banditti of tyrants (I include not in this picture the preſent ſyſtem of government in France—the ſincerity of their

their diſpoſitions and profeſſions is now at iſſue) let looſe by falſe doctrines—uncontrouled by religion and law—ruſhing into all the wildneſs of ſavage nature—inſulting the defenceleſs ſex—purſuing the miniſters of the goſpel and every friend to limited monarchy and moderate government, with unrelenting ſeverity, and ſmiling amid ruins, which the dulleſt and moſt inſenſible of mortals cannot behold without deteſtation and terror—How ſalutary then is the caution which accompanies the foregoing quotation----" Therefore leave off civil contention before it be meddled with."

I cannot too often call upon all loyal Engliſhmen, and friends to Conſtitutional Government to apply what I have recited of the horrors of internal commotion more immediately to ourſelves---- When we awake from tranquil ſleep, let ns fervently thank him who has favoured our reſt, whilſt houſands are reduced to lie on the bare ground, deſpoiled by ruthleſs war; without cloſing their eyes, or relieving their anxious thoughts by any gleam of comfort; their children, their wives, their relatives, ſcattered abroad in the ſtorm of war, without a reſting place from their terrors----When we ſit down to table, to the frugal meal of honeſt induſtry, let us look up gratefully to him, who offers us plenty and eaſe, whilſt ſo many are expoſed

to

to the pangs of hunger, to the multiplied horrors and calamities of hoſtile invaſion.

Theſe, I repeat it, are our duties: while we do thus, and with affectionate ſympathy adminiſter to the diſtreſſes of others, as far as our circumſtances may admit, we may truſt our proſperity ſhall meet no check from the armed ruffian, nor our goods become a prey to the *invading* ſpoiler: We ſhall continue to walk under the ſhade of our own vine, amid the deſerved bleſſings of peace, and protected by a gracious Sovereign, whoſe humanity and indulgence reconciles power to the affections, and makes it inſtrumental to the happineſs of all his people. To a Monarch who thus kindly and graciouſly governs his ſubjects, will they not in turn be ready to offer the tribute of obedience? Will they not be ready, and willing under any difficulties to contribute to the ſupport of meaſures, which his wiſdom may judge connected with their welfare? Will they not deprecate and deſpiſe thoſe fabricators of calumny and miſrepreſentation, who from the gloomy receſſes of diſappointment and envy, try to turn all things into diſtruſt and confuſion? Will they not, with one accord and as one man, cheerfully offer the ſacrifice of their lives, to defeat the machinations of political fanatics, and avert the ambitious projects of *French Invaſion* from our happy homes?

Engliſhmen! look forth into your ſtreets, and behold the crouds of hapleſs, yet meritorious emigrants, who live upon the bounties and indulgence of a generous nation! What was their crime? An averſion to the government of numerous tyrants, rioting in blood----an attachment to the firſt principles of the Revolution, that eſtabliſhed a monarchy like our own, circumſcribed by the laws---- that gave France a Conſtitution, the leading fea tures of which were copied from the glorious Conſtitution, in which Britons rejoice and are happy.

Theſe Emigrants were perhaps too ſlow in oppoſing, with united vigour, the horrible, but ſecret progreſs of reſtleſs agitators—They are now the unhappy victims of credulity, of weakneſs, of inattention—their caſe is deplorable—but while we lament, pity, and aid by national bounty their diſtreſſes, let us alſo learn the leſſon of vigilance and caution—let us feel the truth of what they forgot in early ſeaſon, *principiis obſta—ſero medicina paratur*,

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The current and ſtill increaſing abuſe of his Majeſty's Government, teeming from a licentious preſs, was encouraged, foſtered and promoted by the alarming proceedings of confederated Societies, which ſpread their poiſonous effluvia abroad, and

miſled the populace in many places to ſuch violent outrages againſt the laws and conſtitution, as well as againſt reaſon, juſtice, humanity. Who can withhold cenſuring individuals who debaſe their character and ſituation by their laboured Philippics; and while they pretend to be the advocates of freedom, are encouraging the moſt wretched ſlavery, the power of a mob? However our red-hot innovators may diſclaim a connexion with French principles; however largely they may expreſs their averſion to engage in inſurrection, or in aiding or fomenting the popular madneſs in certain diſtricts, yet it is plain, from the malignity of their writings, from the public conning over of fictitious grievances, and ſpreading ſeditious publications abroad among the lower orders, that they ſeek to overwhelm, not the adminiſtration only, but the conſtitution with them; and to plunge us into the horrors of civil war and French maſſacre.

This is not matter of bare aſſertion. I will aſk; is it not manifeſt from the inflammatory tendency of the various publications and hand-bills dealt out ſo largely among the uninformed peaſantry, and poor manufacturers, the ſuppoſed ready inſtruments of riot and ſedition?

Has it not been recomended to the lower orders, in all the pomp of flattering phraſeology, to cheriſh and propagate the noble ſpirit that had ſo laudably

laudably taken poſſeſſion of them? and have they not been aſſured by *itinerant political quacks*, in all the glare of declamatory vehemence, that an unlimited compliance with all their plans, even to a change of government, a ſubverſion of all regular eſtabliſhments, would be the undoubted conſequence of a bold perſeverance? Are not thoſe *hardy Orators* ſtill abroad, at the work of ſedition, uttering their pompous periods, larded with obſervations equally ſubverſive of religion, law, and order?

Inſtead of common prudential caution, on the news of the French ſucceſſes againſt our allies;—inſtead of expreſſions of horror and diſapprobation of the enormities perpetrated by the enemy on their progreſs to the Danube, our political aſſociators tried rather to palliate the ſhocking diſorders and irreparable injuries which have deſolated the faireſt provinces of Germany. Inſtead of exulting with every good and well-diſpoſed citizen on the late happy victories of the Arch-Duke, which were daily received by expreſs from various quarters, our would-be reformiſts threw a cloud of doubt and uncertainty over all good intelligence, thereby fully evincing the ſullen diſpoſition, the dark complexion of their ſouls.

Was it not neceſſary to coerce ſuch ſeditious diſpoſitions, and to take away from evil men the

power of injuring themſelves, or the community, by miſrepreſentation and treaſon?

The friends of humanity and peace muſt deprecate tumult and diſcontent.—We have witneſſed their attendant evils, within a ſhort lapſe of time, ſufficiently to be convinced that aſſociations or political clubs ſhould not be wantonly and unneceſſarily entered upon. Happily his Majeſty's Miniſters have ſhewn to the world as much wiſdom in defeating the machinations of evil men, as they have diſplayed general attention to the intereſts of the empire, and the protection of trade.

The bills ſo hated and obnoxious to agitators and to incendiaries,— are laws of neceſſary coercion, founded on the broad baſis which Monteſquieu, Locke, and other eminent writers approve and recommend—viz. "that in times of danger, the ſubject muſt yield up a portion of his rights, for the preſervation of the whole."

Impreſſed then with this great truth, it ſhould be the firm purpoſe of every good citizen, not only to pay the ſtricteſt regard to the laws, but alſo to diſcountenance, in the moſt pointed manner, any contrary diſpoſition in others; examples of which, we truſt, may never more occur; as the return of ſober induſtry and ſubordination among thoſe who were for a time carried away by the arts of ſubtle zealots, evinces the high ſenſe which the people enter-

entertain of the cautionary prudence and wiſdom which dictated the late coercive meaſures.

Such was the diligence with which Miniſters oppoſed the danger,—ſuch the advantages of diſcovery of ſecret ſedition, in many places, that the Houſe of Parliament haſtened to emulate the ſpirit and vigilance of Adminiſtration, adopted with more than uſual unanimity, and carried into law the Two BILLS, ſo obnoxious to Republican calumny, as a grand ſpecific againſt a dangerous malady. In defiance of the ſarcaſms thrown out againſt them in every inflammatory publication, they are allowed to have been a meaſure of imminent neceſſity ; and Miniſters may ſafely rely on the ſentiments which a diſpaſſionate public have, from a ſhort experience, formed of their utility.

Here then the Adminiſtration proved itſelf equal to the taſk of checking the growth of licentiouſneſs, enforcing laws of ſalutary efficacy, and producing a conſummation of internal tranquillity and good order, ever moſt devoutly to be wiſhed. To break up knots of aſſociated reformers, waſting money and time in idle argumentation ; to compel men to return to habits of induſtry and ſubordination, was the great object, as it is the firſt duty of the Magiſtracy.

Thus far then, inſtead of a CHANGE of ADMINISTRATION—we ough t moſt fervently to ſupplicate

cate the continuance in Office of men who have laboured for *our public ſecurity, and our private domeſtic proſperity* againſt thoſe who ſought *Innovation in the Government.*

I ſhall add a few pages on the *War* and the *Taxes*, the great cant words of Oppoſition—and hope to prove that in the management of both, Miniſters have acted with integrity, with energy, and with ſucceſs.

Men whoſe attention has been diſſipated for years amid the buſtle of political conflict, and whoſe current of thought has been trained to yield and accommodate itſelf to the rapid ſucceſſion of events, which diverſify the political horizon, acquire a bias which directs all their actions, and influences all their ſenſibilities. This ſtrong bias hinders us not from obſerving ſurrounding tranſactions of public life; it only renders our obſervations erroneous. Imagination interpoſes between reaſon and the affections, and preſents objects far other than they are.

The effects of ſuch bias have a manifeſt tendency to miſlead us, even where public happineſs is at ſtake, and to defeat the operation of thoſe active principles, which are intended to unite us in Society for the public good.

The

The egotiſm of the boaſted *Interview*, is of a piece with that miſrepreſentation of facts, where we are entertained with the round aſſertion that " the Engliſh Government, diſhonoured and beaten down by the arms of France, is inculcating the barbarous prejudice of hatred againſt that nation, as a ſpecies of patriotiſm."

There is a compound of falſity in theſe lines, which ſhall be expoſed in the ſequel of thoſe pages; though, indeed, the impoſition on the feelings and ſentiments of Engliſhmen is too glaring to require refutation.

How often do men overſtep the line of prudence in the eager deſcription of a favourite object:— " And forth from the moment of the King's overthrow, the ſucceſs and glory of the French arms are the wonder of the world."—Oh ſhame, where is thy ſting!—What! while this oſtentatious writer paints in ſuch glowing colours the atchievements of the French, he cannot find in his heart to ſpare a ſprig of laurel to our own brave troops, crowned with conqueſt and with honour in the Eaſt and the Weſt—while he dwells with ſeeming exultation on the enthuſiaſm of the French, he forgets the irreſiſtible bravery, ardour, and perſeverance of the Auſtrian Heroes:—he can afford but a ſcanty expreſſion of praiſe to the prudent and generous conduct of the Archduke Charles:—he forgets that we

we have a navy, triumphant in every quarter of the globe—that our ſquadrons are daily ſcouring the coaſts of the enemy, and deſtroying the little remains of a petty coaſting trade.—He "looks aſkance," at the full flowing tide of commercial proſperity, at the thriving of our trade, which affords full employment to the induſtrious in the ſeveral branches of manufacture, and enables our Merchants and monied men to meet the public exigencies, not only with alacrity, but with emulous competition.

I will not recapitulate the proceedings of the new-conſtituted Authorities in France, at the time of entering Holland; I will not recall all that was ſaid and inculcated by French emiſſaries, with a particular vehemence, reſpecting our own Government; but I muſt inſiſt, that the Britiſh Miniſtry could not be wrong, in defending the nation by all neceſſary meaſures againſt Innovators, who promulgated the moſt hoſtile declarations, and ran into the moſt violent means, for the injury and annihilation of all Governments, that acceded not to their wild theories.

Men of atrabilious habits, who have not a diſpoſition to be ever ſatisfied, will inſinuate that evils

evils prevented cannot be deemed evils; that is, becauſe they were not viſibly perceived with their eyes, nor ſenſibly felt by their nerves, they think themſelves at liberty to deny the removal or prevention of domeſtic calamities to be at all the effect of the meaſures taken by Miniſters.

Men of their dark caſt will not admit the conviction of any poſſible light; otherwiſe one ſingle reflection would reduce them to reaſon. It is, that to the early diſplay of our vigorous and decided meaſures, in the eyes of Europe, we owe our eſcape from the threatenings and attempts denounced againſt our regulated liberties: I will add with confidence, that, far from being certain, it is not in the leaſt probable, that we ſhould have continued free from thoſe evils, threatenings, and attempts of fraternity, which an overbearing mobocracy proclaimed againſt their neighbours, had not the moſt decided meaſures been adopted by Miniſters.

As for our

EXPENCES,

On this occaſion, it is enough to anſwer in general, be they what they may,—if neceſſary for our domeſtic ſecurity, from the gripe of fraternity and pillage:—if they be incurred for the prevention of

great and urgent evils to the country, and as the only means of procuring a better ſtate of things, they may be fairly ſaid to be not at all comparable to the neceſſity—I will aſk—are millions of any weight when ſet in the balance againſt the maſs of miſchiefs, the multitude of horrors and murders that have deſolated France? Can millions be of conſideration with Britons, when we reflect upon the internal tranquillity and external benefits, which flow from the national unanimity and exertion? Every diſpaſſionate obſerver muſt be convinced that—if the preventing the beginnings of great and deſtructive *evils* renders *expences* neceſſary—if the guarding ourſelves and allied powers from the impending effects of ſuch evils renders expences indiſpenſably eſſential----then the *expences* upon the preſent occaſion are certainly ſuch.

This in general is ſatisfaction enough, of whatever degree and magnitude the expences are, being a far leſſer *evil*, than that which they have happily kept off. It cannot be out of ſeaſon often to remark, that the preſent warfare is of ſuch a nature, and accompanied by ſuch circumſtances as muſt make the burdens of it more tolerable in the eyes of good and loyal ſubjects; being undertaken for our own *immediate and neceſſary defence*, and for the ſafety of our liberties and poſſeſſions, againſt the ruffian hand of the ſpoiler.

Now,

Now, as to the ſums neceſſary to continue the juſt and neceſſary defence of all that we hold dear, againſt an inſatiate and implacable enemy, (ſhould the preſent overtures on our part be proudly rejected) which is the man that will refuſe his utmoſt pecuniary aid for the immediate and utmoſt exertion of our ſtrength and reſources againſt a combination of vengeful foes? In proportion to the number and extravagant demands of the enemy, muſt be the extent and vigour of our preparations; and of neceſſity this circumſtance muſt render our expences greater. But happily, in all our wars, in proportion to the number of our enemies, and the conſequent increaſe of expences, the more to be admired are the means of recovering ourſelves. Our eventual ſucceſs has always proved the magnitude of our reſources, the richneſs of our native products, our indefatigable application to trade----circumſtances which taken together, manifeſt ſuch vigour of Conſtitution, that nothing can ever hurt us but ourſelves.

For my part, I am confident in the wiſdom of the Legiſlature that the neceſſary ſums will be raiſed with very little, if any, additional burden on the bulk of the people. The luxuries of life, in which the poor have no concern, are the principal object of the *ways and means*, to our experienced and humane ſtateſmen. The moſt *jaundiced*

reformer muſt allow that the raiſing the ſupplies is a matter of neceſſary concern for the public good: who then but muſt admire the care and attention of Miniſters to tax only, where it may be moſt eaſily borne? *

I repeat it----If in the *piping times of peace*, the Premier raiſed the nation to a degree of commercial proſperity and wealth ſuperior to all other nations; if our trade under his auſpices was extended through a variety of new and productive channels, to the accumulation of immenſe profits and opulence---ſurely, when called upon by our Sovereign, for the maintenance of his Crown and dignity, to co-operate ſtrenuouſly in meaſures, directed ſolely to the defence and preſervation of ourſelves, in the rights, the wealth, the property, we are juſtly in poſſeſſion of, cannot be thought a preſſure upon opulence; nor can the demand be deemed unjuſtifiable

* When a tax is propoſed on property or income by the Miniſter, to ſave the lower claſſes from any burden—oh then, he is running into the French ſyſtem of *forced loan*, &c. and the party ſcribes are up in arms. Thus, deviſe what mode or plan ſoever he may, he will be ſure to meet oppoſition under ſome maſk or other—for our part, we ſhall conform to the tax propoſed by the Premier, on *income*—or on any other, however it may look like a forced loan—and that, on the ground of Virgil's maxim——

Fas eſt et ab hoſte doceri.

triſiable (as is the cant among certain Coffee-houſe politicians) in thoſe who have to propoſe thoſe *ways and means*, which muſt be acknowledged abſolutely neceſſary at this criſis.

Let us here look back to the days of the revered, the immortal CHATHAM, the father of our Premier. That great Stateſman came into Adminiſtration at a critical period: His firſt plans were the ſame which his ſon has been purſuing for the paſt years, viz. to inſult the coaſt of France by numerous armaments, which alarmed the whole country, and employed an immenſe body of men in different parts, to be prepared againſt a deſcent. This made ſuch a diverſion, as the enemy in other quarters felt ſeverely the effect of; as by recalling a part of their armies in Germany to the ſea coaſt, and threatening invaſion of theſe kingdoms, the rapidity of their ſucceſſes received (as manifeſt at the preſent moment) an irremediable overthrow. Armament ſucceeded armament—expedition followed expedition: In the Eaſt as in the Weſt Indies, the operations were as glorious and important, as the commencement had been unpromiſing. Even when Spain joined her force with France againſt us, neither their union and league, nor the conſequent neceſſary expences were regarded by the nation. In defiance of a diſappointed faction, who growled and murmured

at

at the Miniſter and his meaſures; then, as now, the people ſaw with pleaſure a firmneſs and conſtancy in the Premier, to purſue what he knew was right, with vigour and reſolution. The bold appearance of our naval ſquadrons along the enemy's coaſts, the ruin of their trade, and conqueſts in diſtant quarters, gave new life and exertion to the country; the arrival of rich Spaniſh ſhips in our ports, with the wealth of Mexico and Peru, called up the Britiſh ſpirit of enterprize, and ſpeedily baniſhed the apprehenſions of the timid; while the croakings of the diſcontented were drowned in the general joy and exultation of proſperity.

Have we not then the ſtrongeſt reaſon to truſt that the ſame wiſdom and energy, which animated the undertakings of the illuſtrious *Father*, will crown with equal ſucceſs the prudent plans of the *Son*, and accompliſh ſuch an acceſſion of advantages over our combined foes, as ſhall in the ſequel bring the war to an honourable and juſt concluſion?----Should falſe hopes of conqueſt on the part of Spain preclude immediate negociation (as I greatly apprehend), by looking to the wiſdom of our councils, and the bravery of our fleets and armies, we have the ſtrongeſt ground to hope for a ſeries of favourable operations in the proſecution of the war.

Away,

Away, then, with the evil bodings and *croakings* of envious ſpirits, who are eternally *boring* the public with the cry of PEACE, PEACE,—even at the riſk of national diſhonour. We ſee at this moment his Majeſty's Miniſters filled with thoſe true ſentiments of the nation's real intereſts and dignity, which ought ever to guide the Servants of the Crown, taking the neceſſary ſteps to extinguiſh the flames of war, and reſtore peace and tranquillity to the nation. We have read the juſt and equitable ſentiments of our Sovereign, expreſſed with pacific ſincerity by our able and judicious Negociator, and challenging an equally effectual diſpoſition in the French to avail themſelves of Britiſh moderation.

I again repeat it——every faithful ſubject muſt applaud the earneſtneſs of our Government to open the channel of accommodation. But ſhould the partial ſucceſſes in Italy, ſhould the alliance with Spain ſtill blind their leaders, and puff them up with vain pretenſions; ſhould they be reſolved to prefer the further depopulation of their country to the preſervation of their people; —ſhould they oppoſe ſentiments of hatred and obſtinacy to thoſe of proffered tranquillity and good faith; ſhould they, in a word, rather chuſe to ſee the flames of war blaze in full fury, than to cement friendſhip, or to reſtore tranquillity to the

European

European world—yet will his Majeſty, by his Miniſters, ſtill, continue in the ſame humane ſentiments of preferring peace to war.——But ſurely there is no method to compel, eventually, a ſafe and permanent peace, but by keeping a ſufficient force both for defenſive and offenſive operations.

It will readily be granted that we ought to be prepared with vigour to oppoſe an enemy, as well as to propoſe or receive reaſonable methods of pacification. To do the firſt, without a diſpoſition ſhewn toward the latter, would be unjuſtifiable:—to do the latter without the firſt, had been weakneſs and folly; and could proceed from nothing but ignorance of the plaineſt rules of political conduct, by which it has been long ſince eſtabliſhed, as a certain maxim, that the beſt way to peace, upon ſuch occaſions, is with the ſword unſheathed—becauſe any ruffian power that can ſuffer itſelf to attempt the rights, or invade the poſſeſſions and habitations of others, will laugh at proffers of accommodation, when they ſee them unaccompanied by ſuch exertions, as prove a reſolution, an unanimity to defend thoſe rights and poſſeſſions by the whole force of the country, if reaſon and peaceable overtures cannot prevail.

One can ſcarce read with patience the ravings of ſome men, who, while they paint with utmoſt exaggera-

aggeration of colours, the war, the taxes, &c. &c. fail not to preſent to us in the moſt flattering point of view, whatever they can turn to the advantage of party. Such is the aſſertion, moſt

ſplendide mendax,

founded on a fallacious meſſage from the French Directory to the War-Miniſter:—" It is the intention of the Directory, that from this moment all the territory of the Republic, compriſing the countries united to it, be put upon the eſtabliſhment of the moſt profound peace—that the number of troops in the Republic be reduced to the ſimple garriſons of the fortreſſes," &c. &c.

Can any man of plain underſtanding be ſuppoſed to look upon this declaration, but as a ſpecious covering for the immenſe preparations which have been from that moment making along the coaſts of France, with utmoſt ſecrecy, for the invaſion of theſe kingdoms? The numerous aſſemblage of flat-bottomed boats, and armed veſſels in every port from Fluſhing to Breſt, points out the inſidious policy of that pompous declaration, and proves it to have been meant to lull us into a fatal ſecurity, that they might more eaſily accompliſh the invaſion of the country, to ſpread ruin and deſolation throughout our cities, lay waſte our fields, plunder our habitations, violate the chaſtity of our wives and daughters, and deſtroy the purity and

comfort of domeſtic life. Miniſters wiſely ſaw the ſnare laid for public credulity, and by vigorous preparation defeated the daring artifice.

But an enemy, fertile in expedients, and prodigal of men's lives, will not fail to embrace the firſt favourable circumſtance to viſit our ſhores, for the purpoſes of confuſion and pillage.

Which, then, is the man that will refuſe the aid of his perſon and of his fortune, in ſupport of a war, continued ſolely from the contumacy of the foe, and for the prevention of the diſaſtrous ſcenes that attend hoſtile Invaſion.

But ſee—and read——We are menaced, not with an

EMIGRATION,

But with a general

FLIGHT TO FRANCE.

And ſo enamoured will the people be of her new-fangled Republicaniſm, there will be "a ſecond going forth of the Iſraelites." 'Tis a fine ſort of phraſeology—further, "the man who thinks that the emigrations to America in the laſt four years, are not hurtful to this country, muſt be a driveller." Theſe are round aſſertions—but mark how a plain tale will put them down.

I will

I will not ſay a word of the inceſſant internal commotions, animoſities, and heart-burnings that muſt agitate the rival factions throughout France, for many years after the concluſion of the war.—I will not ſpeak of the inſecurity of property, from the variety of conteſted confiſcations and diſputed ſales, ariſing from laws made and unmade by ſucceſſive parties. I am certain that Engliſhmen will not riſk their money on precarious tenures; I am certain that Engliſhmen are not the volatile, giddy, changing animals they are thus freely delineated. There is a perfume in Britiſh Liberty, there is a ſmell in our native earth,

Libertas et natale ſolum

better than all the perfumes of France. There are beſides, the great arguments of commerce, of eaſe, and conveniency, which no other country can boaſt of. It is difficult to put off the man in general, but the Engliſhman in particular. Station him in what country ſoever you pleaſe, he ſtill looks back with longing, lingering regret, to that ſyſtem of trade, upheld by laws which are the admiration and envy of the world.

As the poet ſays,

" *Pone me, &c.*

" *Dulce ridentem* ANGLIAM *amabo, &c.*"

Let us now look to thoſe who have emigrated to America, in the laſt four years. It is a well

known fact, that the ſenſible and moderate men in the different States of America look with indignant and ſuſpicious eyes on the emigrants of thoſe very periods.—The cauſes of their emigration were cloſely enquired into; and, as the ſpirit of party and diſaffection to the exiſting Government were found to be the real ſource of the change, they were treated accordingly with ſilent indifference in general, but in many inſtances with marked contempt and deteſtation. Though they had all the advantages of money and riſing families, that might recommend them to a good reception, yet were they treated even in the intercourſe of buſineſs with an air of ſtudied civility, without any invitations of hoſpitality or friendly attentions.

One of them, a noted and earneſt advocate for reform*, after many months reſidence at Philadelphia, wrote home to a confidential friend, of ſimilar principles, that, "indeed he admired the ſtreets and appearance of the houſes in that City—but

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* Mr. Tone, formerly of Dublin, a young Lawyer of flattering proſpects, and eminent literary talents.—By an attachment to Mr. Rowan, he became a violent partizan:—from that intimacy, he was very nearly implicated in the treaſon of the Rev. Mr. Jackſon, as appeared on the trial. Mr. Jackſon laboured hard to induce Mr. Tone to go to France, to repreſent the ſtate of Ireland:—Mr. Tone at one time gave way to the propoſal, but afterwards declined.

but further he could not ſay, as he had not been invited to viſit, to dinner, or party, from the day of their landing to that hour."—Yet this was a celebrated enthuſiaſt for radical Reform in the Government, and for emigration to America. For my humble part then, while emigration is attended with ſo many diſcouraging circumſtances; while our ſituation, our humour, our trade, concur to ſtrengthen the arguments of domeſtic comforts and contentment at home; while I know that the emigrant zealots, who thought our liberties extinguiſhed by the cautionary laws of coercion, and who hurried away to a country,

Alio ſub ſole jacentem,—

are no more in their *new ſoil* than the *carcaſes* of *Engliſhmen*, without eſtimation, conſideration, or trade; I am not aſhamed to own my frailty in preferring ſuch a model of Government as agrees with the reaſonable enjoyment of a free people; where good laws, and an excellent Conſtitution, render us not only happy at home, but conſiderable abroad.

On this occaſion, indeed, I muſt add that, to thoſe who are not willing to be *ſubject to the powers ſet over them*—who cannot diſtinguiſh ſuperior advantages in the Britiſh Syſtem of Government; who would prefer the vileſt tyranny of a mobocracy, to a limited circumſcribed Monarchy; the

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way is open to them;—let them depart from our land of liberty in ſilent diſcontent and deſperation: Let them go forth—there will be no attempt to ſtop them;—the departure, the FLIGHT of ſuch reſtleſs ſpirits is a public bleſſing.—

It will be as the purging of wine—the *fæces* are removed, and the depurated liquor becomes ſalutary, pure, and invigorating: It will be as the *winnowing* of *corn*—the *uſeleſs chaff* is carried away by the *winds*—the ſound *nutritious grain* remains for the ſupport of man.—BUT—

I will venture to ſay, that inſtead of the "going forth of the Iſraelites," ſo pompouſly announced; when peace takes place, many of thoſe who hurried away in the phrenzy of diſcontent, will be glad to *ſteal over again*, and live in *Old England* with hazard of reproach, rather than abroad in a ſtate of contempt and debaſement. There is ſomething in a parent, which, though he be rouſed to reſent and puniſh miſconduct in the child, impels the latter to return to obedience and rule, rather than dwell among ſtrangers, were they ever ſo hoſpitable.

I will not ſay much of the endemic diſorders of the American climate, ſo dreadful to European conſtitutions: I mean, principally, the *ague* and *fever*, which prevails very generally in the ſpring and autumn;—the ſallow complexion, the emaciated

ciated countenance, the jaundiced eye, the dropsical habit, are usual consequences of the American ague, or intermitting fever. And very few, comparatively of European emigrants, escape its malignant influence. The yellow fever, which has raged so furiously through several States of America for some years, is not a disorder of the Country—but how far it may or may not, being now introduced, continue its annual ravages, remains for time to prove. The desolating progress of that destructive pestilence throughout the Cities of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and, for a time, at Charlestown, is fresh in the memory of every one; and the horrors of such scenes need not be here enumerated.

The emigrants to America have been brought to their right senses by the indifferent treatment they received; which circumstance, super-added to the amazingly high prices of provisions, has produced quite different reflexions and sentiments of American prosperity and Government, than that which their misguided policy and heated zeal had raised in them.—[Vide General Washington's address, in which those restless Emigrants are pointedly alluded to.]

I repeat it, let them go forth, there will be none to stop them.—The departure, the FLIGHT, of such restless spirits is a public blessing. Every

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man converſant in the Britiſh annals, muſt recollect the period, when a party of fanatics, diſcontented with government, but unable to effect their purpoſes at that moment againſt the ſtate, reſolved to fly to America—they embarked bag and baggage, and were ready to proceed to ſea, when, unhappily for the King and for the Country, an order was ſent to ſtop their ſailing—the party diſembarked—ſoured by diſappointment, more furious in their diſaffection, more bold in intrigue.

We all remember the ſad cataſtrophe—a crafty and deſigning faction, like the modern Jacobins, with monſtrous and deſtructive ſtrides, waded through deſolation and murders; and the beſt blood in the nation ſtreamed at the will, caprice, or private reſentment of Revolutionary Judges. A furious fanaticiſm and deep hypocriſy was employed alternately to flatter and frighten an unthinking people into blind acquieſcence with the ſanguinary mandates of an atrocious tyranny. The virtuous were proſcribed, purſued, exterminated—plots, and conſpiracies, were daily conjured up, to implicate and overwhelm the peaceable and well-diſpoſed friends to monarchy.—Jealouſies and ſuſpicion were fomented to irritate and inflame the maſs of the people to blood-ſhedding and cruelties.

Death

Death at laſt pulled off the maſk; the world ſaw the deluſion and hypocriſy, the murderous oppreſſion that lurked under it. The nation found, inſtead of a generous *Protector* and Repreſentative of Heaven, they had got an exterminating monſter, the wily factor of general deſtruction. To ſuch an unhappy pitch were things carried, that, becauſe the Miniſters of God's holy temples refuſed to ſubſcribe to every ſpecies of innovation, and to immolate conſcience at the ſhrine of fanaticiſm, the public ſervice of the church was reviled, ridiculed, aboliſhed; and the Sanctuaries of the moſt High were profaned by the ſubtle cant of armed enthuſiaſm.

It is here worthy of ſerious remark, by all who are ſincerely attached to the Chriſtian diſpenſation, that, as in France recently, ſo in England, in her days of convulſion and diſcord—with the monarchy, the church alſo was overwhelmed, for the moment; and the Miniſters of the altars were ſcattered abroad.

It cannot be amiſs here to exhibit the contraſt between the ſubtle complexion, the gloomy fanaticiſm of the days we have ſpoken of, and the open, unbluſhing, increaſing infidelity of the preſent period. To this picture I beg the attention of the public declaimers and partizans of Aſſociated Delegations and Meetings among us; the Conven-

tion or National Delegation at Edinburgh, by the Muir, the Gerald, &c. &c. is a caſe ſtrongly in point.

In the days of the unhappy Charles I. the godly covenanted brethren, who, ſanctified ſouls, wiſhed not the death of the King, or deſtruction of monarchy, met in general Aſſembly:—While they profeſſed all due obedience, and ſupport of the Parliamentary proceedings, they took care to exert a co-ordinate kind of power with the Parliament; and not only in a dictatorial manner gave them directions how to proceed, but made counter-acts to what they judged againſt their inclinations and intereſts. They made a mockery of the King, and were every day, under the maſk of deep hypocriſy, and inſpired counſel, obtruding new and inſolent conditions on his Majeſty; and, at the end, deſerted and ſold him for a ſtipulated price:—they proceeded ſo far in their luſt of power, as to reſolve among themſelves "that nothing might be done in Parliament without conſent of the General Aſſembly.—I will make no comment on the parity of intention and proceedings at the *Edinburgh Convention*. If the leading members preſumed to exert a deliberative and judicial authority, co-equal with, even in contempt of, the Repreſentative Body in Parliament, they

they have ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of ſuch temerity by ſentence of violated law—

——*Nec lex eſt æquior ulla,*
quam necis artifices, arte perire ſua.

Let us look to the tenets of the *Painites* and *Jacobins* of our day; let us inveſtigate the undiſguiſed, but not leſs dangerous and deſtructive principles of the *modern Reformers* among us.

RELIGION

is in every civilized ſtate the ſtrongeſt incentive to all that is generous and worthy, and conſequently the faſt friend of public order and happineſs. Religion inculcates obedience to the laws and to the magiſtracy, as a neceſſary expreſſion of our regard to liberty and our country. The King, as chief magiſtrate is entitled to a reverence and reſpect, which it is criminal to withhold from him: there is a particular deference and homage due to civil magiſtrates, on account of their offices and ſtations: and therefore every one is bound by all the means in his power to ſtrengthen their hands and give weight to their exertions in the diſcharge of their ſeveral duties: As St. Paul obſerves—"Be ſubject to rulers not only through the fear of the law, but for conſcience ſake; for rulers are miniſters of God, and avengers for executing wrath on

all that do evil."—Religion teaches us to give due dignity and honour to men in power, and reprobates every diſpoſition to treat them with rudeneſs and inſult. It is ſurpriſing to read how often and with what emphaſis the *ſacred* writers repeat and inculcate the precept of ſubordination and ſubmiſſion to lawful ſuperiors, as the great eſſential duty of ſubjects.

Our *modern zealots* therefore, who ſpurn at public authority, and throw aſide that reſpectful demeanour towards perſons inveſted with it, which the order of ſociety requires, and who are ever ready to *ſpeak evil of their rulers*, commence generally their plans, by endeavouring to weaken the influence of religious obſervances, by relaxing the obligations of virtue, and introducing new-fangled adorations of perverted reaſon and murderous equality. The overthrow of religious decorum they know to be a neceſſary ſtep of depravity leading to irreligion and atheiſm—from which follows that ſyſtem of barbarity and anarchy which ſubvert thoſe rights and overwhelm that well-regulated liberty, which Government is inſtituted to protect. I will aſk; is not a ſpirit of irreligion, a ridicule of obſervances, a diſregard of the miniſters of the goſpel, the favourite cant and topic among thoſe who are the moſt violent declaimers againſt Government at this hour? While on the ſacred ſubject

of

of religion, I beg leave to offer one material and conſoling obſervation. Thanks to the favour and goodneſs of Providence, the enormities and avowed infidelity of the Gallic Reformers loſt them the good opinion of almoſt all whom their firſt moderate profeſſions of liberty had gained over. The violation of all morality, the contempt of religious obſervances, created a rapid diſguſt among ſenſible men. The ridiculous rites, the variety of new-fangled ſuperſtitions which modern philoſophy erected on the ruins of chriſtianity, eſtranged and alienated all Britons of ſober and regular chriſtian converſation. A zeal for well-regulated liberty in Engliſhmen, weakens not their attachment to the precepts of a meek and lowly Redeemer, nor inclines them to forget the noble, and ſalutary truths of religion.

Which is the man in this country, cheriſhing a ſenſe of religious duty, that can for a moment bear the terrible reflexion or ſpectacle of a whole nation, hurried on by the wildeſt flights of furious Republicaniſm, caſting aſide the chriſtian obſervance of the Sabbath of the Lord, and ſpurning the moſt ſacred obligations which in civil ſociety bind man to man?

It is clear that if we recognize the obſervance of the Sabbath-day, as an undoubted inſtitution and com-

command of God,* we muſt execrate the innovation, and deprecate the contagion of French infidelity. To the honour of Britiſh ſubjects, there is no people by whom the day ſet apart for divine worſhip, for religious inſtruction, and hearing the word of God, is more ſtrictly obſerved: If it is then an error to be contented with a form of government from which we derive the ſolid privileges of religious worſhip, and protection of property and perſon, it is ſuch a delightful one, that we wiſh to continue in it. We would therefore counſel modern State Reformers to turn their thoughts to

* Mr. Thelwall aims an oblique blow at religion, by accuſing the pariſh or other churches and chapels, in communion with the eſtabliſhed church, of a devotion to Ariſtocracy. in appointing "pews to ſeparate the rich from the poor—who are ſuffered to be chilled in the aiſles," and other ſuch remarks.—This is ſo far from true, that it is a particular inſtruction in moſt churches, to the pew-openers, to admit perſons of every rank into pews, whoſe ſober decent appearance gives them a claim to ſuch indulgence.

If Mr. Thelwall gives himſelf the trouble to viſit any of the pariſh churches of our metropolis, he will find every poſſible attention and accommodation for thoſe in the humble claſſes of life; and what is more, he will behold in thoſe very people, whom he wiſhes to alienate from their places of worſhip, a ſerious and ſolemn propriety of conduct and religious decorum, not to be relaxed or overthrown by inſidious and barefaced inſinuations.

to diſcharge well the duties of their reſpective callings without affecting legiſlative conſequence.

To bring my obſervations towards a

CONCLUSION,

allow me to anſwer the charges ſo numerouſly brought forward againſt Mr. Burke——

Were we to take the ſimple aſſertions of the angry ſcribes, we ſhould ſuppoſe there was no danger now to Liberty but from Mr. Burke—He is the inſtrument (deſcribed in numerous long-winded pages) that muſt overturn Britiſh liberties: a new kind of monſter, whoſe deformity is ſo expoſed, that were it a true picture, that is made of him, it would be ſufficient to frighten children, and make women miſcarry at the ſight of it.

It is this has led me to enquire into the articles of his political faith: and I am not aſhamed to confeſs, I prefer them to other favourite creeds of the day, which the iraſcible, refined, would be Stateſmen of *Chalk-farm notoriety* wiſh to impoſe upon us.

The uncommon liberality of his ſentiments, in numerous tracts; the uſeful information, the ſalutary advice, the ſtrenuous exertion, to remove from Britiſh liberty the moſt alarming evils, are the conſtant theme of unqualified cenſure with the

noxious

noxious fry of the quill—Unfortunately for thoſe partizans, we have before us the labours of an induſtrious ſcholar and eminent ſtateſman, to recommend him to our moſt particular regards: and tho' his friends and an anxious public were lately much alarmed about his ſtate of health, yet we truſt he will ſtill be ſpared, to witneſs an honourable, ſolid, and permanent pacification; and to continue his exertions in the cauſe of literature, of mankind, and of national honour. How great muſt be the ſatisfaction of declining age, to have received the moſt ample approbation of the firſt and moſt learned Univerſities and Academies of Europe? We have all read the public documents to his honour and abilities, communicated by the higheſt characters as well as the beſt informed men, bearing teſtimony to the ſublimity, utility and efficacy of his writings. The deep wound inflicted on the ſocial and domeſtic comforts of the good man, though gradually healing in the parental boſom, by the conſolations of religious fortitude, is ſtill green in the regrets and ſympathy of an admiring public—Who witneſſed in the ſon, the early and endearing commencement of public life, muſt acknowledge that an honeſt ardour, a perſevering patriotiſm, a youthful fire tempered by ſage paternal counſel, preſaged unexampled ſucceſs in the purſuits of life. In defiance of the allurements

of

of midnight orgies, the bane of Britiſh youth, the late Richard Burke cultivated the ſelect circle of private friendſhip, and, like Mr. Fox, by his own highly honourable confeſſion, fought improvement from the ſpeeches and converſations of thoſe whom his father revered and loved: thus ſtoring his mind with the feelings, the ſentiments of the greateſt men in the country. It is no extravagant ſummary of his merits, to ſayt hat he has not left behind him his ſuperior in genius and zeal for the public ſervice. Shall we not then exclaim with the Roman, lamenting his departed friend, Virgil—

Quis deſiderio ſit pudor aut modus tam chari capitis?

Again I will enquire—

What is the guilt of Mr. Burke? * He has expoſed

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* As none muſt eſcape the ſeverity of reprehenſion, the Noble Earl Fitzwilliam, is brought in, to be coupled with Mr. Burke, in the accuſation of promoting the war, &c.—The merit of conſiſtency is indeed accorded to thoſe illuſtrious perſonages, in oppoſing the idea of negociation with France, which, it appears, 'tis the intention of an arrogant Directory to render abortive

The unſullied honour, the manly conſiſtent conduct of Earl Fitzwilliam is beyond the praiſe of the humble writer of theſe ſheets. Though he controvert the apprehenſion of emigration, yet I moſt earneſtly concur in the opinion that it will require, when ever Peace takes place, the utmoſt caution and coercive vigilance of Miniſters and Magiſtrates to counteract the endeavours of hardy incendiaries from France, who will not fail to

 ſpread

ſed the evil of maiming and ſplitting ſociety: With the conſcious ſatisfaction of a pure and good heart; in the ſtile of true friendſhip to mankind he delights in the exertions of benevolence; To men in the higher ranks, he deals out merited reprehenſion, for aiming to diſturb the repoſe of ſociety by ambition and craft; while to thoſe in the humble walk of life, he inculcates the leſſon of induſtry, ſubordination and quiet; teaching them by every endearing influence to cheriſh thoſe diſpoſitions, which form the chief ingredients of human felicity; which open to them ſources of conſolation hidden from others, and endue them with that fortitude, which will "ſet them up as upon a rock,"

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pread themſelves over the country, under the ſpecious ſhew of trade, in order to ſow their pernicious doctrines and deſtructive principles among our induſtrious manufacturers.

What Briton can read with patience the ſtudied hauteur and inſolence in the anſwers of the French Miniſter to the mild tone of explanation and diplomatic uſage, employed by Lord Malmſbury—Our honeſt Negociator in the plain expreſſion of good faith and candour, ſeeks to open the ground of fair diſcuſſion, to accompliſh a general pacification—with keen duplicity and artful evaſion, the French Miniſter flies from the plain ſtile of honeſt intention, and aims to puzzle and impede the negociation—This language of double dealing cannot fail to rouſe the Britiſh energies and reſources to the utmoſt extent and amplitude, in the proſecution of the war, if continued by a ferocious enemy in contempt of the pacific diſpoſitions of our Cabinet.

rock," againſt which the tempeſt may violently beat, but which it cannot ſhake.

To men of high birth and opulence Mr. Burke charges, as highly criminal, thoſe principles of intemperate zeal, by which they held out falſe lights, to the uninformed and credulous: exaſperating and goading them by miſrepreſentation, nouriſhing dangerous hopes; thus infuſing a double portion of bitterneſs into the cup of calamity, and ſharpening the edge of the ſword, which the law lifted up to ſmite the ſeditious. With honeſt boldneſs, he tells the chief agitators that by the energy of ſalutary laws and neceſſary coercion, the edifice of ſedition, of treaſon, is fallen to the ground: by art and chicane of ſituation, they eſcape the cruſh, which their ſecret intrigues merit, while many of the inſtruments of their deſigns lie proſtrate and forlorn, with proſpects comfortleſs on every ſide.

To thoſe in the middle ſtation, and in the lower ranks of laborious life, he paints in the ſtyle of perſuaſive truth the fatal effects of civil commotion, and deſcribes the antidote to the deſtructive poiſon, and its attendant evils. The animated pencil of this great maſter, like the dew drops from heaven, have invigorated and ſtrengthened the public mind, and taught Engliſhmen the divine leſſon of contentment—a rich and balmy cordial, which produces " peace on earth and

good will among men," which diſpoſes the mind in political affairs to truſt to *the wiſdom of the powers ſet over us*, and which never fails to conciliate the affection of our Governors, with the ſupport and favour of Heaven.

To ſuch god-like purpoſes the good man delights to apply the leiſure of age,

Senectutem et Otium cum dignitate,

Impreſſing on the hearts of all, the juſt latitude of freedom, which is afforded to every individual by our happy Conſtitution; expoſing the dangers of innovation and licentiouſneſs, from the terrors and maſſacre with which they have been attended in France; and thus, by acting the part of a friendly, beneficent Monitor, gradually removing from the minds of the deluded and the turbulent, the poiſon of diſcontent, and even the ſlighteſt wiſh to injure the glorious edifice of Britiſh Government.

I will next aſk—what are thoſe never to be forgiven ſins, committed by Mr. WINDHAM, againſt the oppoſition, which have ſo ſharpened the edge of calumny, and brought down upon that Gentleman the vengeful "enthuſiaſtic rancour" of the party-writers through many a laboured page?

Mr. Windham, in uniſon with many of his friends, among the firſt characters in the nation, early confeſſed the neceſſity of the War, and joined

joined the virtuous and the good, in the proſecution of hoſtilities, as a meaſure of national ſecurity and domeſtic quiet, againſt the contagion of French principles. Though long hoſtile to Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration in other reſpects, yet influenced by the irreſiſtible argument, *Pro Rege et Patria*, the Right Honourable Secretary gave up not only his oppoſition, but his attachments—forgot all former prepoſſeſſion, in conſideration of the public danger, and nobly coaleſced, in order to give all the weight and aſſiſtance which a war of ſuch imminent neceſſity requires from every real friend of Britain's proſperity.

Men, whoſe breaſts glow with the pureſt flame of Britiſh Patriotiſm and rational liberty, could ill brook and endure the ſcenes of carnage, the unexampled horrors that overwhelmed a neighbouring country, under colour of Revolution: They ſhuddered at the ſpectacle of a mild unaſſuming Monarch, enſlaved and impriſoned in his capital, and, after a mock trial, dragged to an ignominious ſcaffold, without being convicted of crime. They turned away with abhorrence from the dreadful picture which France exhibited of blood ſtreaming daily from the guillotine—of an immolated Queen, outraged even in death, by atrocious imputations and groſs falſities; they deprecated that horrible

Declara-

*Declaration**, which held out encouragement and aid to the partiſans of violence and mobocracy, in every kingdom; threatening the ſubverſion of all eſtabliſhments, and overwhelming law and religion. They felt that they were bound by all theſe conſiderations to give the aid of their influence and abilities, to reduce that enormous power which aimed a vital ſtab at the liberties of every country under heaven.

The noble leaders of the Portland intereſt, after mature deliberation on the urgency of imperious circum-

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* I allude to the *Decree of Fraternity*, penned by *Cambon*, ſo ſlightly paſſed over, as the mere iſſue of its "tin-brained Author." But admitting *Cambon* to have been an *imbecile*, from being *twice trepanned*, may we not infer, from the writer's own remark, that the *Convention* muſt have been all in a ſimilar ſtate of imbecillity or madneſs; all equally *tin-brained*, to have admitted, applauded, and confirmed by *Decree*, the general anathema againſt all eſtabliſhed Governments?

But why is this *decree of fraternity* paſſed over with ſuch ſlender animadverſion? Becauſe it contains the moſt poſitive and incontrovertible arguments againſt all the tinſel glare of mobocratic declamation—becauſe that ſingle *decree* conveyed more real matter of provocation and inſult againſt the honour, crown, and dignity of thoſe Realms, than all the other laws of the Apoſtles of the new fangled liberty. It was, therefore, too tender a ground to dwell upon:---the horror of it was afterwards too apparent not to be reſcinded;---but the poiſon had gone forth, and miſchief had taken root.

circumſtances, and actuated by a laudable zeal, ſacrificed Oppoſition at the ſhrine of virtuous conviction, joined their integrity and talents with the knowledge and eloquence, which diſtinguiſhed the Adminiſtration: and all are now employed in arduous exertions for the good of the Empire.

With the livelieſt gratitude, affection, and admiration, the Nation beheld the happy union among great and liberal minds, which gave an earneſt of combined exertion and probity; and raiſed the higheſt expectation that, by ſuch a coalition, the Members of which, as well in private as in public life, are acknowledged truly generous and diſintereſted both in ſentiment and practice, the reſources of the country would be called up, to the moſt decided meaſures, to the moſt vigorous and extenſive operations, for the ſecurity and permanency of our Conſtitution.

As Mr. Windham is aimed at with more than common animoſity, in recent pamphlets, I truſt that Gentleman will have the candour not to impute to adulation in the writer of theſe pages, the juſt, unbought homage of praiſe. Indeed, Mr. Windham needs not a panegyriſt: his views are ſincere and patriotic: the brilliancy of his oratory overwhelms his adverſary; and the conciſe neatneſs and nerve of his language convey the ſentiments of an unbiaſſed and upright ſenator. He

loves

loves his country, its liberties, and laws; and where the ſacred rights of *King and Conſtitution* are attempted to be invaded, he takes that active and ſpirited part againſt Oppoſition, which has raiſed the *neſt of hornets*,—the envenomed ſhafts of malevolence—the "enthuſiaſtic rancour" of faction.

The groſs and unprovoked ſtile of reproach againſt the Right Hon. Lord GRENVILLE, deſerves no notice.—'Tis the puny effort of party rancour, which the dignity and unſullied honour of his Lordſhip's official conduct fully repels.—His Lordſhip has long been eminent in the animated ſcenes of public patriotiſm, and fills one of the firſt and moſt arduous ſituations in the Government with no leſs honour to himſelf, than utility and zeal for the public ſervice. The faithful diſcharge of the high, important duties of Secretary of State, gives the lie direct to the foul inſinuations of *moroſe* or *booriſh* language, in his official communications with any, even the moſt humble individual. On the contrary, his Lordſhip's abilities, merits, and gentleman-like manners have long been the theme of general reſpect and admiration. In his official ſituation, his Lordſhip has, with greater aſſiduity and ſucceſs than perhaps any that went before him, inveſtigated the elements and ſources of our commerce and finances; and has more than once ſtruck Oppoſition dumb by the irreſiſtible preſſure

preſſure of ſound argument. Theſe are ſtubborn facts which no declamatory vociferation or ſophiſtry can controvert or diſprove; which no "churliſh, ſnarling growl" of malevolence,—no "clowniſh diſlike to a reconciliation" can invalidate. His Lordſhip's eminent ſervices (with thoſe of Lord Liverpool and Mr. Dundas, who are alſo dragged into the mire of invective and perſonality, by the chaſte writers of the day) are acknowledged by commercial men, with a mixture of love and gratitude; and have been frequently noticed by the heads of our great trading companies, whoſe good opinion and eſteem every man in official ſtation muſt be principally deſirous to obtain.

Equally reſpectable for the amiable qualities of private life, theſe great perſonages, in their families, in their neighbourhood, in the country, diſplay, amid the ſplendid hoſpitalities of official dignity, the pureſt patterns of moral excellence; and by their attentions to agricultural improvements are greatly endeared to all around them.

I will make no long comment on the favourite—"Mr. Fox, and his few firm Aſſociates, whoſe merit is increaſed by the ſmallneſs of their number."*

Well

* I ſhould be ſorry to apply to Mr. Fox, whoſe talents I greatly eſteem, what Mr. GIBBON ſo forcibly remarks of the

Well a day! What an hypotheſis?

No man doubts the abilities, the ſhining powers of Mr. Fox; and every ſtedfaſt Engliſhman,—while he gives his confidence and ſupport to the preſent Adminiſtration, and reſolves with invincible conſtancy and courage to cling to the *King and Conſtitution*, againſt all the combined enemies of either, every good Engliſhman, I ſay, rejoices that there is ſuch a man as Mr. Fox in oppoſition; becauſe it is a maxim with Engliſhmen, that no Miniſter is infallible; and therefore, the ſalutary check of eminent talents has ever been a *deſideratum* in Britiſh politics.

One long ranting period, indeed, claims ſome animadverſion.——" But rather than Mr Fox ſhould

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celebrated Neckar:—" It is true that Neckar wiſhed to be carried on the ſhoulders of the people; and that he has been ruined by the democracy which he had raiſed."

But I will, with pleaſure, remind Mr. Fox and his few firm Aſſociates, of a particular paſſage from Gibbon's epiſtolary correſpondence from Lauſanne—

" The French ſpread ſo many lies about the ſentiments of the Engliſh nation, that I wiſh the moſt conſiderable men, of all parties and deſcriptions, would unite in ſome public act, declaring themſelves ſatisfied and reſolved to ſupport our preſent Conſtitution.—Such a declaration would have a wonderful effect in Europe; and, were I thought worthy, I myſelf would be proud to ſubſcribe it. I have a mind to ſend ſomething of a ſketch—ſuch as all thinking men might adopt."

ſhould diſgrace himſelf with any participation in the deſtructive projects of the preſent Miniſtry, (a ſpeculation which the court cant has of late very aſſiduouſly cultivated) I had rather behold him ſepulchred," &c. This, indeed, is ſounding the knell of the party; this is tolling political death to Mr. Fox.

Miſtake and miſapprehenſion are to be lamented, though not eaſily cured; being ſo much adapted to the corrupt nature of mankind;—but it is hard that men will not only invent ill names and reprehenſion, but they will alſo wreſt and miſinterpret the beſt intentions. So terrified are the party expectants at a reconciling ſound, that they raiſe a deafening clamour to prevent its being heard; leſt it ſhould induce a ſerious reflection and honourable reſolution in their principals, to prefer agreement, harmony, concord and coalition, before diſcord and violence.

What! ſhould the probity and openneſs of Miniſters fail of due effect upon the Government of France; ſhould this Empire be called upon, by the contumacy of the Ruling Powers of France, aided by the perfidy and ſelf-deſtructive policy of Spain, leagued againſt us, to put forth a courage worthy of its ancient character, and ſuitable to the preſſure of circumſtances,—ſhall, at ſuch a criſis, Engliſhmen be found who are ſaid to be fit "to be conſecrated

ſecrated by unſullied honour to the admiration of after-ages," who will not be "rouſed to Engliſh energies?"

Shall Engliſhmen, otherwiſe of good eſtimation, character and abilities, be found ſo inveterate and implacable in oppoſition, as "not to be ſubdued into concord or co-operation" in any poſſible emergency of the State?* This is a heavy and grievous charge. There is then no cure for this order of men,—no expedient to be propoſed, tho' the paucity of numbers precludes them from the capability of forming an efficient cabinet. From the language quoted juſt now, it would ſeem that even ſhould his Majeſty graciouſly condeſcend to require

* For the ſake of general unanimity, would to Heaven ſome ſkilful hand might, in the preſent circumſtances, when all the energies and reſources of the Empire muſt be called up for the public ſafety againſt the inſatiate ambition of our foes, lay ſuch a foundation of healing and uniting all ſects and parties, that even in this firſt Seſſion of a new Parliament, the ſeeds of differences and animoſities between the ſeveral contending ſides, may be for ever deſtroyed; and all the ability and talent of the nation be brought happily into one accord, to *ſtrive manfully together* for the general good.

I truly reſpect the powers of Mr. Fox and his few firm aſſociates; and will not therefore think ſo indifferently of them as to ſuppoſe, that, ſhould our earneſt endeavours to attain *Peace* become void and of none effect, they will not ſhew themſelves ſeriouſly and generouſly inclined to unite with his Majeſty's Miniſters at this arduous criſis:—It is indeed a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed.

require an union of intereſts, a cordial co-operation of abilities and parties, " melting into the common current of Britiſh feeling," for the welfare and ſalvation of the country—no treaty or concert can be accompliſhed with any faction. It would ſeem they have left themſelves no free will—they are ſo muzzled by party-zeal, ſo tied by vows, and kept up by ſuch unchangeable maxims of combination, that they are to be left as deſperate patients, and looked upon as men that will continue in an eternal ſtate of hoſtility, 'till the nation is entirely ſubdued to their wills and opinions.

Is it neceſſary to ſtate of what temper they are, what arguments are the moſt likely to prevail upon them, or how far it is adviſeable for Government to conciliate men, who avow they are not capable of being treated with, if the ſcribes are the true retailers of their ſentiments?

Is then the whole ſaving wiſdom of the country concentrated in " Mr. Fox and the few firm aſſociates?" Muſt the long and approved Adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, united now and blended intimately, indiſſolubly, with the Portland integrity, ability, and powers, ſtrike to a diſunited, diſcordant party? When that man, to whom Mr. Fox with the tear of grateful ſenſibility, avowed before the nation, he owed all he poſſeſſed of ability and talents

talents in public life,* when that man—to whom religion, law, and government, are ſo greatly indebted for a manly defence againſt infidelity, atheiſm and anarchy—with a manly burſt of public feeling, abandoned the party: When the man of acknowledged probity, againſt whom, though common place invective and party-zeal may work inceſſantly to traduce his public conduct, none however

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* In a debate on the recommitment of the Quebec Bill—May 6th, 1791—Mr. Fox made this candid declaration—"That he had learned more from Mr. Burke, than from all books and all men—that all his political knowledge was drawn from Mr. Burke's writings, ſpeeches, and familiar converſations, &c.

In the ſame year, the Univerſity of Dublin, in full convocation, unanimouſly conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, on the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, as *the powerful advocate of the Conſtitution, the friend of public order, virtue, and the happineſs of mankina.*

"With ſuch, and numerous other public teſtimonies (as was well obſerved ſome days ago in a morning paper) Mr. Burke may well remain ſilent and ſatisfied: they are a complete anſwer to the puny ſcribblers of the preſent day—and yet from the petulant attacks that are daily made on Mr. Burke's fame, and favour with his Sovereign, we might ſuppoſe he was the weakeſt of all political writers—if not the moſt worthleſs of all public men—The authorities we have adduced, muſt be allowed competent and unimpeachable."

ever turbulent or furious, have dared to whiſper a word of reproach to ſully the luſtre of upright intention and purity of ſoul—When the incorruptible Portland, and his few real friends joined his Majeſty's Councils—Did they leave behind, with the remnant or offal of party, all their judgment, integrity and talents?—No—they felt it a duty, by reciprocal communications of public ſpirit, and union, to add to the ſum of general exertion for the public weal: they felt, and eſtabliſhed the maxim, that in political life the anguiſh of ſeparation ſhould ever yield to the dangers which the State may ſuffer from the views or frailties of friends.

Again—muſt an inſulted Monarch, ſo lately eſcaped from maddened agitators, from a murderous banditti, ſacrifice his better judgment, and diſcard his Miniſters, in compliance with the outcries of a Thelwall, or any hot-brained zealots?*

Muſt the collected ſenſe of the people, the wiſdom of Parliament; muſt the numerous reſpectable characters, that have brought with them to the

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* Mr. Thelwall, unwittingly, pays the higheſt compliment to the loyalty and unanimity of Engliſhmen, at the cloſe of his Pamphlet, where, in the deſponding attitude of hopeleſs extremity, in all the pomp of woe, he deplores the cold unſocial indifference of the public towards himſelf: the Pandemonium

the auguſt Houſe of Commons, the yet warm applauſes, diſtinction, and confidence of the nation; —Muſt they ſacrifice their opinions and diſcernment to the humour and animoſity of a ſkeleton oppoſition? Muſt the Repreſentatives of the People bow to the laſh of reprehenſion, to the acrimony of party writers?

If the ſpirit in which ſome men have ſpoken of the exiſting Legiſlature, which they have been pleaſed to ſtile *oppreſſors of the people*, provokes ſevere reflexions, they have none to blame but themſelves: Out of their own mouths we may judge *modern Reformers*: If virulent invectives on the government and religion of the country are not calculated to inflame men's minds, it is difficult to ſay what is their tendency: Truth is not promoted by furious zeal, or violence of any kind*.

Thanks

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nium has been neglected, and the memory of the lecturer has paſſed away like the baſeleſs fabrick of a viſion.—*Ebeu! quantum mutatus ab illo.*

'Tis ſurely in the people moſt *unſocial*
T' abandon him, who ſought all ſocial order,
The pride of HOARY ANCESTRY, to undo!
Oh cruel TARS of Yarmouth!—to ſpoil the work
Of bold ſedition, lab'ring for its purpoſe!

* How pertinent to this ſubject are the remarks of the celebrated Gibbon, written from Luſanne, in 1789:—

"The

Thanks to the ſuperintending favour of Heaven, the people of England have honeſt, plain underſtandings; and before they commit themſelves in any wild intemperate plans of innovation, they will not fail to think on the enormities and murders that muſt be hazarded in the operation. They find the Conſtitution, as it is, healthy and thriving—they have a body of regular phyſicians to ſupport and guard it: they therefore reject all the officious applications of itinerant quacks; they wiſh

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"The fanatic Miſſionaries of Sedition have ſcattered the ſeeds of diſcontent in our cities and villages, which had flouriſhed above two hundred and fifty years, without fearing the approach of war, or feeling the weight of Government."

"Many individuals and ſome communities appear to be infeſted with the gallic phrenzy, the wild theories of boundleſs freedom.—But I truſt that the body of the people will be faithful to the government, and to themſelves."

"Our domeſtic harmony is ſomewhat embittered by the infuſion of party-ſpirit—Our ladies and Gentlemen aſſume the character of ſelf-taught politicians; and the ſober dictates of wiſdom and experience, are filenced by the clamour of proud *Democrates*. I, for my part, am ſatisfied, that the failure or ſucceſs of a revolt, would equally terminate in the ruin of the country."

"We have a ſet of wild viſionaries, who gravely debate and dream about the eſtabliſhment of a pure and perfect democracy of five and twenty millions—they talk of the primitive rights and equality of mankind, which would lead, in modern reaſoning, to an equal partition of lands and money.

"What happy countries are England and Switzerland, if they know and preſerve their happineſs."

wiſh each and every one of the empirical tribe would attend to their private concerns,

Ne ſutor ultra crepidam,

and pay due regard to the ſalutary admonition of St. Peter, " obedience to God and the law is the juſt meaſures of all human liberty."

I have read in a late publication from Mr. Wraxall, ſentiments truly worthy a Britiſh ſubject, and which I would freely quote here, but that I have already outgone my deſigned number of pages. But I will ſeriouſly call upon Mr. Fox and his " few firm aſſociates," to recollect the words of our glorious Deliverer KING WILLIAM, in his laſt Addreſs to his people, which deſerve to be written in letters of gold.

" I ſhould think it—ſaid the Monarch—as great a bleſſing as could befal the country, if I could obſerve you as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy, fatal animoſities, which divide and weaken you,—as I am diſpoſed to make all my ſubjects ſafe and eaſy as to any (even the higheſt) offences committed againſt me—let me conjure you to diſappoint the hopes of your enemies by your unanimity—lay aſide your parties—let there be no diviſion among people of the ſame country. We are all of one blood, breathe the ſame air, are lighted by the ſame ſun, depend on the ſame Providence. What therefore, God hath thus

joined

joined together, let neither folly nor malice, men nor devils put asunder."

Thus then,—While disaffected men are alarming weak minds by vague apprehensions of incapacity in the field and in the cabinet, I have felt it my duty, as a faithful subject, to undeceive the public, by fair and just statements of our civil and military operations. The continuance of our conquests in the East, as in the West Indies, must terminate in the total overthrow of French and Dutch power. The success of our fleet at the *Cape*, by the capture of an important squadron of Dutch ships of war, must open the eyes of all, who are not resolved to be blind to the present Administration; and every successive intelligence from abroad will give cause to reverence more and more, and to esteem that firm Phalanx of experience and abilities which constitute the Cabinet, and which Providence has ordered for the security of the Empire, the permanency of the Constitution, and the dignity of the Sovereign. As for the Premier, his merits need no other testimony than the open and avowed hatred of our enemies to the character and name of Pitt—of whom their nefarious scribes speak with the same spirit of malevolence and scurrility, as do the foes of virtue and monarchy in this kingdom.

While on the ſubject of EAST-INDIA acquiſitions, I muſt remark, that no man who is at all converſant in the politics of that country, can make any doubt that all our broils with the native powers have originated in the intrigues and agency of the French. By reducing their power in that quarter, we finiſh what the Marquis CORNWALLIS ſo happily begun: we put an additional *bit* and *bridle* into the mouth of the reſtleſs TIPPOO SAIB, and by removing a dangerous and active rival and neighbour, we deprive the tyrant of the means of putting in execution the ſchemes he may have been projecting againſt our intereſts in that part of the world. He is an enemy of hoſtile complexion and irreconcileable nature; and however humbled by the glorious campaigns of the brave CORNWALLIS, is ſtill a formidable power. His depreſſion, with the overthrow of the French power, offers permanent ſecurity and peace to our territotories and trade. Nor is it an extravagant aſſertion, that the poſſeſſion of Pondicherry, with the acquiſition of the Cape of Good Hope, ſo bravely atchieved under the gallant General Clarke, muſt ſecure the bleſſings of proſperity and commerce to the remoteſt poſterity, were we even to give up many of our other numerous conqueſts in the Eaſt.

Thoſe

Thoſe valuable ſettlements, with the ſurrounding territory, would prove of the higheſt national importance, in the hands of a Company at once enterpriſing and proſperous, whoſe good faith and honourable dealings have ſo much endeared them in the confidence and affections of the native powers; while the hauteur, duplicity and exactions of the French and Dutch are execrated and abhorred.

At the preſent moment, in a fit of political delirium,

SPAIN

has ſent her fleets to join thoſe of France, and perfidiouſly has declared war againſt us. Many men affecting long, deſponding looks, are taking more than common pains to frighten us into diſcontent, and to perplex our public Counſels. I will ſuppoſe that events in conſequence, may be for a while unfavourable. I will ſuppoſe ſome diſappointment and loſs of trade in the Mediterranean; but I will ſtrongly maintain that our ſubſequeut glory and ſucceſs will amply compenſate for any temporary diſcomfiture in that quarter.

I will not riſk a conjecture—what the conſequences may be, of the attempt at union of fire with water—of a confederacy of deſpotiſm and In-

qui-

quiſition with Republicaniſm and Atheiſm. I will barely obſerve that the unhappy Louis XVI. ſigned his own death-warrant, the overthrow of his family, the ruin of a flouriſhing kingdom, on the day in which he ſigned the league with America againſt this country.

The ſeeds of liberty were introduced and ſown by the auxiliary Legions, on their return to France —but the increaſe has been wild, diſorderly, deſtructive of the ſoil.

The French are known to be unceaſingly diligent in propagating their pernicious doctrines. There is a charm in words ever apt to inveigle the unwary and debauch the affections. An evil communication with light fantaſtic Republicans may decoy Spaniſh gravity and Spaniſh allegiance, and render that people enamoured of revolutionary liberty, and revolutionary equality.—I will not wiſh, even to an enemy, ſo great a curſe as ſuch a change would inevitably bring with it.

ſed caveat emptor;

Let the Prince of Peace look to it.

Spain is vulnerable in many important points—and our brave tars know well that an expedition againſt her rich colonies, offers ample harveſt of laurels and treaſures. Againſt this additional foe, our able Stateſman will come forward with freſh energy and vigour—the manly comprehenſive

view

view he ever takes of the true intereſts of the Empire, will point out to him where the enemy's weakneſs lies; where he can act with effect; and where an impreſſion can eaſieſt be made upon them: where he can hazard leaſt, and where the enemy may ſuffer moſt.

Who then will dare attempt to ſink the ſpirit of the nation by malevolent reflexions of deſpondency? A new enemy will rouſe the lion to new exertions—the Britiſh laurel will flouriſh from freſh expeditions and freſh ſucceſſes.—Our fleets will pour their thunders to the ſhores of the Phillippines,—to the coaſts of Mexico,—to the mines of Peru;—and make the Dons repent their folly, their deluſion, their temerity, and their perfidy.

We have at the head of our Admiralty a Noble Lord, whoſe virtues ſtrike malevolence dumb.—His Lordſhip's enterpriſing vigour, aided by the counſels of his enlightened and zealous coadjutors in office, has rendered our navy moſt formidable; and every day new ſhips and new expeditions are preparing to annoy and annihilate the efforts of our enemies.

While then our brave fleets and armies are going forth to conqueſt and territorial acquiſitions, let us at home look with reſpectful confidence to the Legiſlature, to the Sovereign, and to his Miniſters:

niſters:—let us ſpurn the dangerous intimacy of turbulent ſpirits; embrace the ſolid and tranquil benefits of legal government, and cling to the friends of the Conſtitution.

We are threatened by the enemy with an

INVASION,

With an interruption of our domeſtic tranquillity, of our internal proſperity.

It is indeed manifeſt that, irritated by the meaſures purſued in our Councils, by our armaments along their coaſts, by our conqueſts in the Eaſt-Indies, combined with the ſucceſsful operations of our illuſtrious Ally along the Rhine, the Directory have planned the project of an INVASION—but (I will not ſay from any encouragement held out by internal mal-contents) however ſerious the appearances to diſturb us at home, by the mighty preparations which ſuch a turbulent enemy threatens to turn againſt theſe iſlands,—we may ſafely confide in the vigilance and activity of Miniſters to provide a force not only ſufficient to repel predatory aggreſſion or incurſion, but alſo to turn their vain-boaſtings upon their own heads, as ſoon as the ſeaſon will permit active operations on the enemy's coaſts. Prudence forbids to laugh at thoſe threats of Invaſion, or to eſteem them a mere

matter

matter of gaſconade—Caution bids us be guarded againſt all poſſible events by numerous bodies of troops along our ſhores.

And here again I will aſk the *political niggard*—Are expences to be regarded for the ſupport of ſtrong fleets and armies, when ſet againſt the evils, diſorders, diſtreſſes, which an hoſtile attack upon our coaſts muſt occaſion, even ſuppoſing it to be repelled from our doors?

But alas, who can calculate the utter ruin and deſtruction that muſt enſue were ſuch a meaſure to ſucceed. By the vigour of preparation, all their atrocious deſigns to diſturb our peaceable homes, with all the long train of ruin to trade and property will be prevented. Yes, after all their ſecret preparations, the news of our vigour of exertion, our immenſe IMMEDIATE reſources, and increaſing unanimity, cannot fail to render their plans abortive, and ſecure to ourſelves the bleſſings of domeſtic tranquillity and family comforts?

Nevertheleſs ſhould their inſolent threats ever come to be realized, we muſt not be caſt down, or ſink, as *men without hope*. We muſt ariſe with greater energy in our country's cauſe, and go forth with fortitude. And ſoon ſhall the *afflictions of a ſeaſon be turned into joy and gladneſs, and chearful Feaſts*. Let us hold in remembrance that as "in the proſperity and peace of our country we have

comfort and peace, ſo in the trouble thereof we have trouble, and muſt feel it." Thoſe are unworthy the character of Zion's ſons, who think themſelves not concerned in Zion's ſorrows.

Let us then exert our utmoſt reſeurces, and ſtrive together manfully; ſo we ſhall feel no evil, but ſhall be ſo fortified, that, "if the enemy were to come in like a flood, the Lord will be with us in the day of battle: His ſpirit will lift up a ſtandard againſt them, and ſmite them to the earth: He will, in ſeaſon, ſet the point of the ſword againſt all their gates, that their hearts may faint, and their ruins be multiplied."

Thus then, my friend, rouſed by the unmerited invectives of party writers, ſtimulated by the love of my country, I could not refrain from offering to your conſideration, Obſervations which flow from a mind unprejudiced by place, unbiaſſed by connection. If they are worthy of peruſal at this juncture, I ſhall have my reward. I have not the ear of men in power—nor can I boaſt the INTERVIEW with men of either party. I have ſimply endeavoured to prove, what I hope appears clearly demonſtrated in the foregoing pages—

The cauſe you have to ſuſpect the writers in favour of French Revolution, the Abettors of French Principles, and of the Writers in favour of the Revolution.

Secondly

Secondly,

The duty incumbent upon you, as an Engliſhman, in Chriſtianity and Prudence, not to hazard the public ſecurity, and private domeſtic proſperity—either by a deſire of Innovation in the Government, or by a change of the Adminiſtration.

I have endeavoured to direct the public opinion to the principles and conduct of his Majeſty's Miniſters: and I leave to all diſcerning and impartial judges, whether the meaſures they purſue can with juſtice be ſo arraigned—and whether thoſe who deliberately pervert their fair fame and intentions, do not very juſtly deſerve the worſt name that can be put upon themſelves. In executing this duty, I have given way to the overflowing of an heart intereſted in the proſperity of the Empire—in the glory of my King, whom GOD long preſerve the Guardian of his People's Rights and happy Conſtitution.

Dec.r 10—96

FINIS.

22 Church Street—Soho—